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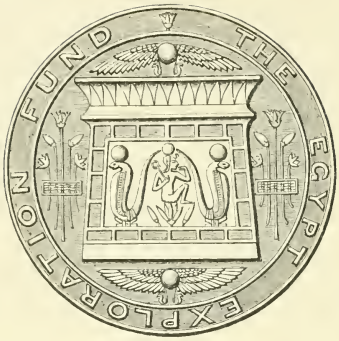
THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
PART V

GRENFELL AND HUNT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GRAECO-ROMAN BRANCH

THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

PART V

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES

BY

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WITH SEVEN PLATES

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PREFACE

Of the five texts comprised in this volume, the four long classical papyri (nos. 841–4) formed part of a large find of literary fragments from about twenty MSS., which was made on Jan. 13, 1906 in circumstances described in the *Times* of May 24, 1906 and the *Archaeological Report of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1905–6, p. 10. Of the other literary papyri which were discovered at the same time, the portions of the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides and of a new commentary upon Thucydides Book II will be published in Part VI, which we hope to issue in the summer of 1908. The vellum fragment of a lost gospel (no. 840) was unearthed in a different mound in December, 1905.

In editing the two most important classical texts, the Pindar (841) and the new historian (842) we have enjoyed for the last time the very great privilege of collaborating with Professor F. Blass, whose tragically sudden death occurred shortly after he had completed the revision of the earlier proofs of those two texts, to the reconstruction of which he had so largely contributed. It is impossible for us adequately to acknowledge the debt which our publications of classical texts during the last eleven years owe to the generous and unstinted assistance of that illustrious scholar, whose brilliance of imagination and depth of learning were never more admirably displayed than in the congenial occupation of restoring, elucidating, and identifying literary papyri. His loss is indeed to us irreparable, and will be felt most keenly when we come to deal with the immense number of fragments from the Greek lyric poets found during the last two seasons, since in that department no less than in that of the Attic orators his pre-eminence was conspicuous.

In the reconstruction and interpretation of the new historian we also owe much to the most valuable help of Professors E. Meyer

and U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, while Professor J. B. Bury has contributed a number of suggestions and criticisms upon both that papyrus and the Pindar. The assistance which we have received from other scholars, particularly Professors E. Schürer and H. Schöne and Mr. E. M. Walker, is acknowledged in connexion with the individual papyri.

In the Appendices we give a list of addenda and corrigenda to Parts III and IV of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, and a list of published papyri recently distributed among various museums and libraries, in continuation of the list in Part IV, pp. 265–71.

The excavations at Oxyrhynchus were at length concluded last winter, the sixth which has been devoted to the exploration of that marvellously productive site; the publication of the vast store of Greek papyri from it will be the work of many years to come. Owing to lack of funds the Graeco-Roman Branch is unable to conduct excavations during the coming season, but we hope to resume our work in Egypt in the winter of 1908–9, when we look forward to breaking fresh ground.

BERNARD P. GRENFELL.
ARTHUR S. HUNT.

Queen's College, Oxford,
October, 1907.

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION

THE same general method is followed in this volume as in its predecessors. The three new literary texts are printed in dual form, a reconstruction in modern style in the case of **840** following, in that of **841** and **842** facing, a literal transcript. In the two texts of extant authors, **843** and **844**, the originals are reproduced except for division of words, addition of capital initials to proper names, and supplements of lacunae. Additions or corrections by the same hand as the body of the text are in small thin type, those by a different hand in thick type. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of an abbreviation or contraction, angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ a mistaken omission in the original or a correction made by us; double square brackets ⟦ ⟧ mean that the letters within them have been deleted in the original, braces { } that the letters so enclosed, though actually written, should be omitted. Dots placed within brackets represent the approximate number of letters lost or deleted; dots outside brackets indicate mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Letters with dots under them are to be considered doubtful. Heavy Arabic numerals refer to the texts of the Oxyrhynchus papyri published in this volume and in Parts I–IV; ordinary numerals to lines; small Roman numerals to columns.

I. THEOLOGICAL

840. Fragment of an Uncanonical Gospel.

8·8 × 7·4 cm. Plate I (verso).

This fragment consists of a single vellum leaf, practically complete except at one of the lower corners, and here most of the lacunae admit of a satisfactory restoration. The book to which the leaf belonged was of remarkably modest dimensions, but though the written surface only slightly exceeds two inches square the scribe has succeeded in compressing forty-five lines into the two pages. He used a small and not very regular uncial hand, round and upright, of a type pointing, we think, to a fourth rather than a fifth century date. A later date than the fifth century, to which most of the papyri found with 840 belonged, is out of the question. A peculiarity is the employment of red ink to outline and bring into greater prominence the dots of punctuation (in the middle position), initial letters of sentences, strokes of abbreviation, and even accents, of which two examples occur (ll. 23 and 36). Longer pauses are marked not only by dots but also by short blank spaces, and the following letter, besides being sometimes ornamented with red, is rather enlarged. Of the abbreviations usual in theological MSS. $\overline{\alpha\nu\text{ος}}$ (*ἄνθρωπος*), $\overline{\delta\delta}$ (*Δανείδ*), and $\overline{\sigma\omega\rho}$ (*σωτήρ*) are found. *ν* at the end of a line, in order to save space, is sometimes written as a horizontal stroke above the preceding vowel; and there is one apparent instance (l. 9) of the use of the common angular sign to complete a line shorter than its neighbours. In three cases words originally omitted have been supplied, all these interlineations most probably being by the original hand. The scribe apparently was particularly liable to omission, and in one or two other places supplements seem to be required; cf. l. 1 and notes on ll. 3–7 and 40.

The bulk of the fragment is concerned with a conversation between Jesus and a chief priest, which takes place in the Temple at Jerusalem, the episode,

which is of a dramatic character, being preserved almost complete. It is preceded by the conclusion of a speech of Jesus to His disciples, exhorting them to avoid the example of certain wrong-doers and warning them of the penalties which await the latter both in this world and the next (ll. 1–7). What particular class is referred to by the word *αὐτοῖς* in l. 3 is not clear. Jesus, who throughout the fragment is called simply *ὁ σωτήρ*, then takes His disciples with Him inside the Temple to the *ἀγνευτήριον*, by which term the author of the gospel perhaps meant the 'court of the men of Israel', though how far this use of it is legitimate is doubtful (ll. 7–9; cf. l. 8, note). They are there met by a chief priest who is also a Pharisee, but whose name is quite uncertain (l. 10, note). The chief priest reproaches them for having neglected to perform the necessary ceremonies of ablution and change of garments before entering the holy place and looking upon the sacred vessels (ll. 12–21). A short dialogue ensues in which Jesus asks the chief priest if he is pure, and the latter answers recounting the different purificatory rites which he had himself observed (ll. 21–30). To this Jesus delivers an eloquent and crushing reply contrasting outward with inward purity, the external bathing prescribed by Jewish ritual with the inward cleansing which He and His followers had received in the waters of eternal life (ll. 30–45). Before the conclusion of the speech is reached the fragment breaks off.

In its general outline the episode described resembles Matt. xv. 1–20, Mark vii. 1–23, though the scene is there not Jerusalem but near Gennesaret, and the other details are of course different. The contrast between outward religious observance and inward purity was one of the most salient points in Christ's teaching, and is illustrated not only by the canonical gospels but by other uncanonical utterances ascribed to our Lord, e. g. the two series of *Sayings of Jesus* (**1**. 5–11 *ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε* κ.τ.λ., **654**. 32 sqq. [*ἐξ*]*ετάζουσιν αὐτὸν* κ.τ.λ.). Even more clearly than **655**, **840** belongs to a narrative covering the same ground as the canonical gospels. That this was composed with a view to advocating the tenets of a particular sect is not indicated by anything in our fragment; for though ll. 41–4 when separated from their context might conceivably be adduced as an argument for denying the necessity of the use of water at baptism, *βαπτίζειν* is not there used in its technical Christian sense (cf. l. 15, note), and in other respects the fragment is quite orthodox. A possible point of connexion with the Gnostics may be found in the noticeable fact that our Lord is called not *Ἰησοῦς* or *ὁ κύριος* but *ὁ σωτήρ*, a title which Irenaeus (I. i. 3) reproaches the Valentinian Ptolemaeus for using to the exclusion of *κύριος*; cf. Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, i. p. 124. But the use of *σωτήρ* or *salvator* simply to designate Jesus is of course common in other early Christian writers, and though its employment indicates that this gospel belongs to a later stage of development than the canonical gospels,

in which it only occurs in Luke ii. 11 *ἐτέχθη ὑμῖν σωτήρ, ὅς ἐστιν Χριστὸς κύριος* and John iv. 42 *οἴδαμεν ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου*, this is not sufficient to establish a Gnostic origin for the fragment. It is, however, enough to exclude the likelihood that **840** comes from either the gospel according to the Hebrews or that according to the Egyptians. For though *σωτήρ* is used in introducing quotations from those gospels by Origen (*In Ioann.* ii. 6 *τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον ἔνθα αὐτὸς ὁ σωτὴρ φησιν· ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με κ.τ.λ.*) and Epiphanius (*Haer.* 62. 2) *ἐν αὐτῷ* (sc. the gospel according to the Egyptians) *γέγραπται πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ὡς ἐν παραβύστῳ μυστηριώδως ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ σωτῆρος ἀναφέρεται ὡς αὐτοῦ δηλοῦντος τοῖς μαθηταῖς κ.τ.λ.*, the evidence of the extant quotations themselves indicates that *κύριος* was the title commonly employed, as in the Gospel of Peter. In the absence of any definite resemblances between **840** and the scanty remains of the various uncanonical gospels composed in the second or third century, the fragment is best classed as belonging to a gospel distinct from any of them. The chief point of interest in it lies in the references to Jewish ceremonies of purification in connexion with the Temple-worship, about which the author at first sight shows an intimate knowledge. On some points the statements in the fragment find support in the extant authorities for the Temple-ritual at the time of Christ. Thus Josephus states that no Jew who was unclean had the right to be admitted to the inner court of the Temple, i. e. that known as the 'court of the men of Israel' (cf. l. 8, note), and the statement put into the mouth of the chief priest concerning the necessity of ceremonial washing and putting on white garments is in accordance with the regulations for priests described in the Mishnah (cf. ll. 25 and 27, notes). But that an ordinary Jew before visiting the inner court of the Temple had to wash and change his clothes as stated in ll. 18–20 is not confirmed by any other evidence; and neither the term *ἀγνευτήριον* in l. 8 nor the *λίμνη τοῦ Δανείδ* in l. 25 are mentioned elsewhere, while considerable difficulty arises in connexion with the 'sacred vessels' which are stated to have been visible from the court to which Jesus and His disciples had penetrated; cf. ll. 12–21, note. Moreover the two stairways leading down to the 'pool of David' and still more the statement that dogs and swine were cast into it (ll. 33–4) seem to be details invented for the sake of rhetorical effect, for that a high priest washed himself in a pool of the character described in the fragment is incredible. So great indeed are the divergences between this account and the extant and no doubt well informed authorities with regard to the topography and ritual of the Temple that it is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that much of the local colour is due to the imagination of the author, who was aiming chiefly at dramatic effect, and was not really well acquainted with the Temple. But if the inaccuracy of the fragment in this important respect is admitted, the historical

character of the whole episode breaks down, and it is probably to be regarded as an apocryphal elaboration of Matt. xv. 1–20 and Mark vii. 1–23. In these circumstances the gospel to which the fragment belongs can hardly have been composed before the middle of the second century. The use of the term σωτήρ and the fact that the manuscript itself was written in the fourth or possibly even the fifth century may be represented as arguments for a third century date, but that seems to us improbable. After the four canonical gospels had come to be exclusively used in most churches, a process which was complete by the end of the second century (Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchr. Lit.* ii. p. 699), no new gospel covering the same ground could look for more than a very limited acceptance, and after about A. D. 180 authors of apocryphal gospels generally avoided competition with the canonical gospels by placing their supposed revelations in the period of the Childhood or after the Resurrection. Moreover, if the author of 840 wrote in the third century, we should expect him to betray a definitely heretical point of view, which, as we have said, is not discernible in the fragment. That it is Egyptian in origin is very likely, but it stands much nearer to the gospel according to the Egyptians which was composed in the second century, probably before the middle of it, than e. g. to the Pistis Sophia which was written in the third. The literary quality also of the fragment does not favour a very late date; the style is more ambitious than that of the canonical gospels, and the rhetorical tendency of the composer, who uses a number of words not found in the New Testament, is somewhat pronounced, but he is more successful in catching something of the genuine ring than many of the authors of apocryphal gospels. Hence we prefer to regard the work to which 840 belongs as composed before A. D. 200. While the story of the dialogue between Christ and the chief priest has no claim to be accepted as authentic, and is probably a secondary or even tertiary production, the fragment is an interesting and valuable addition to the scanty remnant of the numerous uncanonical traditions concerning Christ's teaching which were current in many Christian communities, especially in Egypt, during the third and fourth centuries.

We are indebted to Prof. E. Schürer for several suggestions in the interpretation of this fragment.

Verso.

προτερονπροαδικησαιπαντασοφι
ζεται·αλλαπροσεχετεμηπωσκαι
ὔμεισταομοιαυτοισπαθητε·ουγαρ
εντοισζωοισμονοισαπολαμβανου

σινοικακουργοιτων$\overline{\text{ανων}}$·αλλα̣[.]α̣ι
κολασινὺ̈πομενουσινκαιπολ[.]ην
βασανον· *Καιπαραλαβωναυτους*
εισηγαγενεισαυτοτοαγνευτηριον̣κα̣ι
περιεπατειεντωιερω·καιπροσ̣ε̣[.]⟩
θων̣φαρισαιοστισαρχιερευσλ̣ε̣υ̣[. . .]
τοονομασυνετυχεναυτοισκαιε̣[. . .] . [
τω$\overline{\text{σω}}$$\overline{\text{ρι}}$·τισεπετρεψενσοιπατ[. . . .
τουτοτοαγνευτηριονκαιϊ̈δειν[. . . .
τε
ταταα̣γιασκευημηλουσα[.]ε̣ν̣[.]μ̣[. .
μην
τετωνμαθητωνσουτουσ̣π̣[. . . . .
πτισθεντων·αλλαμεμολυ[. . . . .
επατησαστουτοτοϊ̈ερον̣τ̣[. . . . . .
τακαθαρον·ονουδεισα̣[. . . . . .
λουσαμενοσκαιαλλα̣[. . . . . .
ματαπατει·ουδε̣ο̣[. . . . . .
τ̣α̣α̣γιασκευη·καισ̣[. . . . . .
. [. . .]οισμαθηται[. . . . . .

Recto.

σ̣υ̣ο̣υ̣νενταυθαω̃νεντωϊ̈ερω·καθα
εκεινοσ
ρευεισ·λεγειαυτωκαθαρευω·ελ̣ο̣υσα
μηνγαρεντηλιμνητουδ̄δ̄·καιδιετε
ρασκλειμακοσκατελθωνδιετερασ
α̣[.]ηλθον·καιλευκαενδυματαενε
δυσαμην·καικαθαρακαιτοτεηλθ̄ω
καιπροσεβλεψατουτοιστοισαγιοισ
σκευεσιν· *Οσ̄ω̄π̄ροσαυτοναπο*
[. . .]θειπεν·ουαιτυφλοιμηορω̃
τ[.]σ·συελουσωτουτοιστοισχεομενοισ
υ̣[.]α̣σ̣ι̣ενοισκυνεσκαιχοιροιβεβλην
[. . .]νυκτοσκαιημερασ·καινιψαμε

35 [. .]ο̣στοεκτοσδερμαεσμηξω·οπερ
[. . .]ι̣αι̣πορναικαια[.]αυλητρίδεσμυρι
[. .]ο̣υ̣[. . . .]α̣ι̣λουουσινκαισμηχουσι
[. . . .]αλλωπιζουσιπροσεπιθυμι
[. . .]ων̄α̣ν̄ω̄ν̄·ενδοθενδεεκει
40 [. . . . .]ηρωταισκορπιωνκαι
[. . . . .]κιασ· εγωδεκαιοι
[. . . . .]ο̣υσλεγεισμηβεβα[.]
[. . . . .]μ̣μεθαενϋδασιζω[.]
[. . . . .]ο̣ελθουσιαπ̣ο̣ . . [.]
45 [. . . . .]λ̣αουαι̣[.]οισ[. . .].

πρότερον πρὸ ⟨τοῦ⟩ ἀδικῆσαι πάντα σοφί-
ζεται. ἀλλὰ προσέχετε μή πως καὶ
ὑμεῖς τὰ ὅμοια αὐτοῖς πάθητε· οὐ γὰρ
ἐν τοῖς ζωοῖς μόνοις ἀπολαμβάνου-
5 σιν οἱ κακοῦργοι τῶν ἀν(θρώπ)ων ἀλλὰ [κ]αὶ
κόλασιν ὑπομένουσιν καὶ πολ[λ]ὴν
βάσανον. καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς
εἰσήγαγεν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγνευτήριον καὶ
περιεπάτει ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. καὶ προσε[λ]-
10 θὼν Φαρισαῖός τις ἀρχιερεὺς Λευ[εὶς ?]
τὸ ὄνομα συνέτυχεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ε[ἶπεν]
τῷ σω(τῆ)ρι, τίς ἐπέτρεψέν σοι πατ[εῖν
τοῦτο τὸ ἀγνευτήριον καὶ ἰδεῖν [ταῦ-
τα τὰ ἅγια σκεύη μήτε λουσα[μ]έν[ῳ] μ̣[ή-
15 τε μὴν τῶν μαθητῶν σου τοὺς π[όδας βα-
πτισθέντων; ἀλλὰ μεμολυ[μμένος
ἐπάτησας τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν τ[όπον ὄν-
τα καθαρόν, ὃν οὐδεὶς ἄ[λλος εἰ μὴ
λουσάμενος καὶ ἀλλά[ξας τὰ ἐνδύ-
20 ματα πατεῖ, οὐδὲ ὁ̣[ρᾶν τολμᾷ ταῦτα
τὰ ἅγια σκεύη. καὶ σ[τὰς εὐθέως ὁ σω(τὴ)ρ
σ[ὺν τ]οῖς μαθηταῖ[ς ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ,

σὺ οὖν ἐνταῦθα ὢν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καθα-
ρεύεις ; λέγει αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνος, καθαρεύω· ἐλουσά-
μην γὰρ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ τοῦ Δ(αυεὶ)δ καὶ δι' ἑτέ-
ρας κλίμακος κατελθὼν δι' ἑτέρας
ἀ[ν]ῆλθον, καὶ λευκὰ ἐνδύματα ἐνε-
δυσάμην καὶ καθαρά, καὶ τότε ἦλθον
καὶ προσέβλεψα τούτοις τοῖς ἁγίοις
σκεύεσιν. ὁ σω(τὴ)ρ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπο-
[κρι]θεὶς εἶπεν, οὐαί, τυφλοὶ μὴ ὁρῶν-
τ[ε]ς· σὺ ἐλούσω τούτοις τοῖς χεομένοις
ὕ[δ]ασιν ἐν οἷς κύνες καὶ χοῖροι βέβλην-
[ται] νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, καὶ νιψάμε-
[ν]ος τὸ ἐκτὸς δέρμα ἐσμήξω, ὅπερ
[κα]ὶ αἱ πόρναι καὶ α[ἱ] αὐλητρίδες μυρί-
[ζ]ου[σιν κ]αὶ λούουσιν καὶ σμήχουσι
[καὶ κ]αλλωπίζουσι πρὸς ἐπιθυμί-
[αν τ]ῶν ἀν(θρώπ)ων· ἔνδοθεν δὲ ἐκεῖ-
[ναι πεπλ]ήρω⟨ν⟩ται σκορπίων καὶ
[πάσης κα]κίας. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ οἱ
[μαθηταί μου] οὓς λέγεις μὴ βεβα-
[πτίσθαι βεβά]μεθα ἐν ὕδασι ζω-
[ῆς αἰωνίου τοῖ]ς ἐλθοῦσιν ἀπὸ . . [.]
[. . . . . ἀλ]λὰ οὐαὶ [τ]οῖς [. . .].

'. . . before he does wrong makes all manner of subtle excuse. But give heed lest ye also suffer the same things as they; for the evil-doers among men receive their reward not among the living only, but also await punishment and much torment. And he took them and brought them into the very place of purification, and was walking in the temple. And a certain Pharisee, a chief priest, whose name was Levi, met them and said to the Saviour, Who gave thee leave to walk in this place of purification and to see these holy vessels, when thou hast not washed nor yet have thy disciples bathed their feet? But defiled thou hast walked in this temple, which is a pure place, wherein no other man walks except he has washed himself and changed his garments, neither does he venture to see these holy vessels. And the Saviour straightway stood still with his disciples and answered him, Art thou then, being here in the temple, clean? He saith unto him, I am clean; for I washed in the pool of David, and having descended by one staircase I ascended by another, and I put on white and clean garments, and then I came and looked upon these holy vessels. The Saviour answered and said unto him, Woe ye blind, who see not. Thou hast washed in these running waters wherein dogs

and swine have been cast night and day, and hast cleansed and wiped the outside skin which also the harlots and flute-girls anoint and wash and wipe and beautify for the lust of men; but within they are full of scorpions and all wickedness. But I and my disciples, who thou sayest have not bathed, have been dipped in the waters of eternal life which come from . . . But woe unto the . . .'

3–7. This sentence is very obscurely worded, and perhaps corrupt. The contrast is, we think, between punishment in this life and in the world to come; hence we prefer *ζωοῖς* 'living' to *ζῴοις* 'animals'. The use of *ζωός*, a poetical word employed also by Xenophon, is curious, but *ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις* seems to yield no sense. The absence of an object for *ἀπολαμβάνουσιν* (e.g. *τὸν μισθόν*) is awkward, even if one could be supplied from the sentence preceding l. 1; and after *ἀλλὰ καί* a phrase to balance *ἐν τοῖς ζωοῖς* would be expected. Possibly some words have dropped out; the scribe seems to have been rather prone to omission. For *κόλασις* in reference to the next world cf. Matt. xxv. 46 *ἀπελεύσονται οὗτοι εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον*: *βάσανος* is not so used in the N. T., though cf. Matt. xviii. 34. *ὑπομένουσιν* may be future, but the present tense makes a better contrast to *ἀπολαμβάνουσιν*.

8. *ἀγνευτήριον*: this term is not found elsewhere in connexion with the Temple, and what the author of this gospel exactly meant by it is not clear. The context shows that it was within the inner enclosure, and ll. 12–3, where *παρ[εῖν] τοῦτο τὸ ἀγνευτήριον* corresponds to *περιεπάτει ἐν ἱερῷ*, suggest that it was a large open court rather than a particular room, especially as the term *ἀγνευτήριον* is not a suitable description for any of the known rooms in Herod's Temple. The 'Chamber of Washers' (*Middoth* v. 4) was employed for cleansing the inwards of the offerings, not for ceremonial ablutions. If *ἀγνευτήριον* implies a place where rites of purification were performed, the only part of the Temple to which the name would be at all appropriate is the space round the brazen laver, which stood between the Temple-porch and the altar, having succeeded to the 'molten sea' of Solomon's Temple (cf. l. 25, note). But this is not likely to be the meaning of *ἀγνευτήριον*, for the brazen laver was in the court of the priests, which could not be entered by lay Israelites except for purposes of sacrifice (*Kelim*, i. 8 quoted in Schürer, *Gesch. d. Jüd. Volkes*, ii. p. 273), and other indications in the papyrus (cf. ll. 12–21, note) besides the general probabilities of the case suggest that Jesus and His disciples had not penetrated further than the 'court of the men of Israel', which was outside the priests' court. If *ἀγνευτήριον* is legitimately used of the 'court of the men of Israel', the term seems to be applied to it not because it was a place where purification was performed but because it could only be entered by Israelites who were perfectly pure; cf. Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* v. 5 *ἀνδρῶν δ' οἱ μὴ καθάπαν ἠγνευκότες εἴργοντο τῆς ἔνδον αὐλῆς καὶ τῶν ἱερέων πάλιν οἱ μὴ καθαρεύοντες εἴργοντο*, and *Contra Apion.* ii. 8 *in tertia* (sc. *porticu*) *masculi Iudaeorum mundi existentes atque purificati* (sc. *ingrediebantur*). But it may be doubted whether the author of this gospel had any clear conception of the topography of the Temple, and the employment of the term *ἀγνευτήριον* may be a mere error; cf. introd.

10. *Φαρισαῖός τις ἀρχιερεύς*: by *ἀρχιερεῖς* in the N. T. and Josephus are meant primarily the high priest actually in office and his predecessors, but also secondly members of the families from which the high priests were drawn; cf. Schürer, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 221–4. There is therefore no necessity for this person to have been the high priest in office at the moment. Most of the high priests were Sadducees, and hence are often in the N. T. contrasted with the Pharisees, but instances of high priests who were Pharisees occur; cf. Schürer, *op. cit.* ii. p 201. The combination *Φαρισαῖός τις ἀρχιερεύς* is therefore quite legitimate, and such a person is particularly appropriate as the champion of external purity; cf. ll. 24–30.

Λει[εῖς]: the reading is extremely doubtful, but neither *Ἄνν]ας* nor *Και[άφας* is admissible. The first two letters, if not *λε*, seem to be *ασ*, and the third, if not *υ*, to be *ι* or *κ*.

12–21. From this speech of the Pharisee it appears firstly that entrance to that part of the Temple to which Jesus and His disciples had penetrated was permitted only to those who had either bathed (l. 19 λουσάμενος; cf. l. 24) or at any rate had washed their feet, and had put on fresh clothes, secondly that from this part of the Temple the holy vessels were visible. The principal holy vessels, e.g. the table of shewbread and the seven-branched candlestick, stood in the *hekal* or larger room of the sanctuary; but this was only entered by the officiating priests, and the writer of this gospel is not likely to have been so ignorant of the facts concerning the Temple-service as to suppose that Jesus and His disciples could have wished to enter the sanctuary, much less that they could have succeeded in doing so without opposition from the Temple guards and with no stronger remonstrance from the high priest than that related here. Other sacred vessels were kept in the small chambers (38 in number), which surrounded the sanctuary on all sides except that of the porch; cf. *Middoth* iv. These chambers were apparently entered from the inside of the building, so that in order to reach them it would be necessary to pass through the Temple-porch, and their contents can hardly have been visible from the priests' court which immediately surrounded the Temple-building, much less from the court of the men of Israel which was outside the court of the priests. Since the court of the priests was only accessible to lay Israelites for the purpose of sacrificing at the great altar, it is almost as difficult to suppose that Jesus and His disciples penetrated to these chambers as that they entered the sanctuary. The nature of the remonstrance addressed to them by the chief priest, who reproaches them not with being laymen but with being unclean, suggests that the scene of the conversation is the court of the men of Israel, which, as Josephus says, could only be entered by the *mundi atque purificati* or καθάπαν ἡγνευκότες (cf. l. 8, note). Hence if ἅγια σκεύη implies more than the bronze laver, and the rings, tables, and other accessories of the sacrifices, all of which objects, being outside the Temple-building, would be visible from the court of the men of Israel, the author of this gospel has fallen into a somewhat serious error. Moreover, the statement in ll. 18–20 that bathing and changing of clothes were required from ordinary Israelites when visiting the Temple is not confirmed by anything in the authorities, which record the observance of these formalities only in the case of the officiating priests; cf. ll. 25 and 27, notes. Josephus' reference to καθάπαν ἡγνευκότες probably means merely persons who were Levitically pure, and does not imply the performance of special rites of purification. Schürer, therefore, seems to be right in supposing that the author of the gospel has by mistake referred to laymen the regulations applicable only to priests.

15. βα]πτισθέντων: βαπτίζειν is used here and in l. 42 not in the ordinary technical sense of baptizing, but with reference to ceremonial ablution, as in Luke xi. 38 ὁ δὲ Φαρισαῖος ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασεν ὅτι οὐ πρῶτον ἐβαπτίσθη πρὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου, and perhaps in Mark vii. 4 ἐὰν μὴ βαπτίσωνται οὐκ ἐσθίουσι, where the reading is doubtful; cf. also Sir. xxxi. 25 βαπτιζόμενος ἀπὸ νεκροῦ.

20. ὁ̣ρᾶν: σ may be read in place of ο.

25. τῇ λίμνῃ τοῦ Δ(ανεί)δ: 'the pool of David' is not mentioned elsewhere, and it is not clear what the author of the gospel meant by it, or where it was situated. Schürer thinks that it refers to the 'brazen' or 'molten sea' set up by Solomon between the porch and the altar (1 Kings vii. 23, 2 Chron. iv. 2). This was a large laver supported by 12 brazen oxen, and containing according to 1 Kings 2000, according to 2 Chron. 3000, baths of water. It was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxv. 13, 16, Jer. lii. 17, 20), and though if Sir. l. 3 may be trusted the second Temple also had its brazen sea, Herod's Temple did not possess one. In its place there was firstly a bronze laver between the porch and altar (*Middoth* iii. 6, &c.; cf. Schürer, *op. cit.* ii. p. 283) in which the officiating priests had to wash their hands and feet, and secondly a room fitted up with baths for daily use by

the officiating priests before entering on their duties; cf. *Testam. XII Patriarch., Levi* 9 *καὶ πρὸ τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὰ ἅγια λούου*, and the authorities from the Mishnah cited by Schürer, *l. c.* This room, which is called in *Middoth* i. 9 'the house of baptism', was reached by a passage from the Temple-building, and was clearly outside the Temple-enclosure. That the author of the gospel had in his mind the 'brazen sea' seems to us improbable, since the *λίμνη* is called after David, not Solomon, and while the brazen sea stood close to the Temple-building itself, the *λίμνη* which had two *κλίμακες* leading down to it (ll. 25–6) and into which dogs and swine are cast (l. 33) is evidently conceived of as being outside the Temple (presumably in the valley below), and thus fulfilling the functions ascribed in the Mishnah to the 'house of baptism'. Whether a pool called after David really existed is however very doubtful, for the details concerning it are more picturesque than convincing. The subtle distinction of the different stairways for the use of the clean and unclean, though plausible in itself, is, in the absence of corroboration, more likely to be due to the imagination of the author of the gospel than to have a historical basis, and the casting of dogs and swine into the pool looks like a rhetorical exaggeration; cf. note *ad loc.*

27. *λευκὰ ἐνδύματα*: on this detail, that the officiating priests put on special garments, white in colour, the author of the gospel is correct (cf. Schürer, *op. cit.* pp. 281–2), as he is with regard to the necessity for their taking a daily bath before entering on their religious duties; cf. l. 25, note, and introd.

31. *οὐαί, τυφλοί*: the dative is more common after *οὐαί*, as in l. 45; but cf. Luke vi, 25 *οὐαί, οἱ γελῶντες νῦν, ὅτι πενθήσετε*, where there is an ellipse of *ὑμῖν*, and Rev. xviii. 16 *οὐαὶ οὐαί, ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη*.

33. *χοῖροι*: that swine were not uncommon in Palestine at the time of Christ is proved by Matt. vii. 61, viii. 30, and Luke xv. 15. The reference to the dogs and swine is introduced to heighten the effect of the contrast with the waters of life in ll. 43–4. The author of the gospel may well have had in his mind the stagnant pools which are a common feature of Egyptian villages, but the description is incredible when applied to a pool in which a chief priest bathed, and as a piece of rhetoric somewhat overshoots the mark; for the real point of the contrast between the two kinds of purification is not that the water was in the one case unclean, but that it only cleansed the outward skin, whereas the other form of purification was spiritual.

36. *αἱ πόρναι καὶ α[ἱ] αὐλητρίδες*: cf. for this collocation *τρεῖς γὰρ δούλους περιεῖχε τὸν μὲν καταφαγόντα τὴν ὕπαρξιν μετὰ πορνῶν καὶ αὐλητρίδων* in the *Ἑβραϊκοῖς χαρακτῆρσιν εὐαγγέλιον* quoted by Eusebius in his *Theophania* (Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 388).

39. *ἔνδοθεν δὲ κ.τ.λ.*: cf. the denunciations of the Pharisees in Matt. xxiii. 25 *οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι ὑποκριταί, ὅτι καθαρίζετε τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τῆς παροψίδος, ἔσωθεν δὲ γέμουσιν ἐξ ἁρπαγῆς καὶ ἀκρασίας*, 33 *ὄφεις γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν*, Luke xi. 39 *τὸ δὲ ἔσωθεν ὑμῶν γέμει ἁρπαγῆς καὶ πονηρίας* (cf. *κα]κίας* in l. 41).

40. *πεπλ]ήρω⟨ν⟩ται*: it would be possible to retain *πεπλ]ήρωται* by reading *ἐκεῖνα* in place of *ἐκεῖναι*, but such a use of the neuter plural is unlikely.

42. *βεβα[πτίσθαι*: or *βεβο[π]τίσθαι*; but cf. ll. 15–6 *βα]πτισθέντων*.

43. *βεβά]μεθα*: *α*, *δ*, or *λ* could be read in place of the doubtful *μ*, but not *σ* or *ν*, so that *λελο]ύμεθα* and *βεβαπτί]σμεθα* (which is also too long) are excluded, and *βεβά]μεθα* is practically certain. *βάπτειν* is a less technical word than *βαπτίζειν*, but there is, we think, no real distinction intended between the two terms here, since *βαπτίζειν* is not employed in its technical sense; cf. l. 15, note.

43–4. *ζω[ῆς*: or *ζῶ[σι*, with another word in place of *αἰωνίου*. The letter before *ἐλθοῦσιν* may be *τ* or *ν* instead of *σ*, so that *κα]τελθοῦσιν* is possible. *ὕδωρ ζῶν* occurs in John iv. 10, 11, vii. 38, *ὕδωρ ζωῆς* in Rev. vii. 17, xxi. 6, xxii. 1 and 17. *ἀπό*, if correct, was no doubt followed by some words like *τῶν οὐρανῶν* or *τοῦ πατρός*.

II. NEW CLASSICAL TEXTS

841. PINDAR, PAEANS.

Height 18 *cm.* Plates I–III (A Cols. iv, v, xxiii, Frs. 82 and 128).

It is a somewhat remarkable circumstance that though several Pindaric fragments have been found at Oxyrhynchus (408, 426 (?), and 659 besides 841), none of them has contained any part of the Epinician poems. Eustathius tells us (*Opusc.* p. 60. 22) that that section of the poet's works was the most popular as being fuller of human interest, less concerned with myth and less obscure in expression,—*οἱ καὶ περιάγονται μάλιστα διὰ τὸ ἀνθρωπικώτεροι εἶναι καὶ ὀλιγόμυθοι, καὶ μηδὲ πάνυ ἔχειν ἀσαφῶς κατά γε τὰ ἄλλα*: but this, so far as the evidence goes, hardly seems to have been the general verdict in Egypt during the Roman period. Recent discoveries moreover happily enable us to form our own opinion as to the character of some of the other categories. 659 provided for the first time a specimen of the *Παρθένεια*; and now the following much longer and more valuable text presents the material for an adequate estimate of the important class of *Παιᾶνες*.

The paean, which is a very ancient form of poetry, was a hymn originally sung in honour of Apollo or Artemis, whether in thanksgiving to, or propitiation of, the deity. Both of these motives appear in Homer; the Achaeans are to return to their ships singing a paean of victory (X 391), and try to divert the wrath of Apollo with a paean at a sacrificial feast (A 472–3). In later times paeans were dedicated to other gods than Apollo; Xenophon, for instance, speaks of a paean to Poseidon (*Hell.* iv. 7. 4): cf. Proclus, *Chrest. ap.* Photius, *Bibl.* 239 *ὁ δὲ παιάν ἐστιν εἶδος ᾠδῆς εἰς πάντας νῦν γραφόμενος θεούς, τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἰδίως ἀπενέμετο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἐπὶ καταπαύσει λοιμῶν καὶ νόσων ᾀδόμενος· καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ τὰ προσόδια τινὲς παιᾶνας λέγουσιν.* The sound of *ἰή* was especially characteristic of the paean; Athenaeus, xv. pp. 696 e, f (cf. 701 b, c), calls *ἰηπαιάν* the *παιανικὸν ἐπίρρημα* or *ἐπίφθεγμα*, a description which the papyrus well illustrates; cf. also 660.

The Paeans were comprised in one of the seventeen books attributed to Pindar by the Cod. Ambrosianus and Suidas. To that book, apart from single

words, only two small fragments (52 and 61) could hitherto be certainly referred; a few others, now seen to belong to it, had been wrongly assigned to other categories. Of the Paeans of Simonides there are but a line and a half; of those of Bacchylides, previously represented by a couple of fragments, two specimens have lately reappeared in the British Museum papyrus. By a similar stroke of good fortune the lost book of the Paeans of Pindar is now partially recovered through the present MS., which, next to that of Bacchylides, is the largest extant papyrus of a lyric poet. The identification admits of not the smallest doubt. That the bulk at any rate of the poems are to be classed as paeans is obvious; and not only do they bear unmistakably the Pindaric stamp, but their authorship is conclusively established by several coincidences with already known citations as well as by references to Pindar in the scholia which accompany the main text.

The remains of this admirable manuscript, in elaborateness rivalling the Paris Alcman papyrus, were unearthed in deplorable condition; they consisted of some 380 fragments, none of which contained two complete consecutive columns, while the great majority were quite small. The process of fitting together has largely reduced the total, but many scraps remain unplaced in spite of repeated efforts; some of them no doubt will eventually be assigned by future revisions to their proper position, though it does not seem probable that there is much to be done in this direction. The task of combination has been greatly assisted by the fact that the literary text was written upon the verso of a cursive document; frequently a connexion, which otherwise would have remained a matter of conjecture, has been definitely established or excluded by the evidence on the other side of the papyrus. As now reconstructed the MS. falls into four principal sections. In A, which constitutes the bulk of what survives, as many as thirty-five consecutive columns containing parts of seven odes can be accounted for, though with large gaps and imperfections. The recto contains an elaborate list of persons, written probably in the latter part of the first century, with details as to parentage, age, and other personal characteristics. As often, the papyrus was cut horizontally before being re-used; it has also sometimes been divided vertically and rejoined, and strengthening strips have been glued on in places. Under B, where the hands on either side are the same as in A, are included several fragments which are distinguished by their dirty and decayed condition. There are remains of three columns which may be consecutive, but whether they belong to a single poem or form part of the last ode (VII) of A is doubtful; cf. the commentary *ad loc.* It is even uncertain whether B precedes or follows A. In C the cursive recto is the same as in A and B, but the text of the Pindar is in a new hand, which continues through D; the two groups, each including one practically complete column, are marked off from each other by

the presence of a different document, part of a land-survey list, on the recto of D, while the recto of C is the same as in A and B. Two isolated fragments, 26–7, where the text on the verso was written by the scribe of A–B, also have a different cursive, perhaps the same as in D, on the recto. The changes of hand in the verso and recto respectively make the order A–B, C, D the natural one; but it is not impossible that D preceded C or that C–D preceded A–B, for the case of Frs. 26–7 indicates that the recto of the roll as made up to receive the literary text on the verso was of a somewhat heterogeneous character. There is some internal as well as external evidence for distinguishing C–D from A–B, since it is doubtful whether the poems represented in C–D are also to be regarded as paeans; this question will be considered later (p. 23).

The text of the Pindar is written in short columns of fifteen or sixteen lines which occupy about 11·5 cm. in depth, a wide margin being left between the columns for the reception of scholia, and the lines placed rather wide apart, perhaps with a view to interlinear additions; the distance from the commencement of one column to that of the next is from 14 to 15 cm. The occurrence of the figure 900 opposite II. 25 proves that some 866 lines or fifty-seven columns had preceded the ten verses which survive of Paean I. On the assumption that a literary roll did not ordinarily exceed thirty feet in length, this MS. of Pindar's Paeans would have consisted of more rolls than one. As already stated the text is the work of two scribes; in A–B the hand is a good-sized uncial, round and upright, but irregular and rather heavy. There is a noticeable variation in the size of the writing at different points; and cursive forms have occasionally intruded themselves at the end of a verse. On its own evidence this hand might be assigned with probability to the earlier decades of the second century, a date strongly indicated (1) by the document on the recto, which was written after the end of the reign of Titus (who is called θεός) but perhaps before the close of the first century, and (2) by the cursive scholia, which we think are not later than the middle of the second century and are likely to be for the most part practically contemporary with the main text. The scribe of C–D was the master of a much more practised and ornamental handwriting. This also is of the round upright type, but the letters are smaller and lighter, though firm and carefully finished (cf. Plate III). A noticeable feature, found also in some other well-written literary papyri, is the *apices* or little hooks with which the extremities of strokes are in many cases provided. A cursive ε occurs at the end of a line in Paean IX. 38.

Breathings, accents, marks of quantity and elision, and diaereses have been pretty freely supplied throughout, but accents are rather more common in C–D. Breathings are of the square shape. The system of accentuation shows a general

resemblance to that found e.g. in the Bacchylides papyrus and **223**. In diphthongs, as usual, an acute accent falls on the first of the two vowels, while a circumflex generally covers both; a grave accent is placed by the scribe of A–B on the second vowel (III. 12, VI. 130), by the scribe of C–D in two instances on the second (Fr. 82. 25 τελεῖς, IX. 39 ανατιθεῖς), in one (IX. 39 μὸισαιαις) on the first. Unaccented syllables often bear a grave accent, usually one or more of those preceding the accented syllable (e.g. I. 8 φὶλὴσὶστέφανον, V. 38 φὲρεμήλους), but a following syllable is similarly treated in Fr. 82. 21 ολοαῖ̣σὶ, IX. 42 ἑτὲκ̣[ε. The article ὁ is written ὃ in I. 5. Oxytone disyllables as a rule only have a grave accent on the first syllable (IV. 51 νὸμον, VI. 14 τρὸφον, &c.; an exception is θαμά Fr. 20. 27), and a similar method is sometimes followed in polysyllabic words, e.g. VI. 16 θὰμὶνα, IV. 12 αγὰκλεα for ἀγακλέα. Syllables preceding enclitics are accented (IV. 27 ἀνιππός̀ ειμι, &c.) even in the case of paroxytones, e.g. V. 44 ἐνθά με, VI. 87 ὁσσά τε. Instances of mistaken accentuation are II. 98 θὰμὰ for θὰμά or θὰμα, IV. 28 Μελάμπος for Μέλαμπος, IV. 36 ὃς for ὅς, 37 εκατὸν for εκατόν (or εκὰτον), similarly IX. 39 ανατιθεὶς for ανατιθείς, and Fr. 82. 25 τελεὶς for τελεῖς. Punctuation is commonly effected by means of a high dot, which is freely supplied. At the ends of lines it is placed some little distance away at a level varying between the middle and top of the letters. The exact height is apparently immaterial, and therefore has been disregarded in our transcript; e.g. in IV. 34 the stop after καταβαίνων is opposite the middle of ν, in 70 after προπάροιθεν it is at the top, the length of the pause being exactly the same in the two cases. Stops occurring in the course of lines are placed, as in the Bacchylides papyrus, well above the letters; but there is one genuine case of a dot in the middle position, where the pause is represented by the modern comma (VI. 15; cf. 182), and one instance of a dot just below the line (IV. 48), at the end of an interrogative sentence. A paragraphus is only used in the text to separate the metrical sections which are, apparently, always distinguished. Plain paragraphi are employed at the end of strophes and antistrophes, but at the commencement of new strophes they are accompanied by a conspicuous coronis, as in **659**. Paean V, which consists only of strophes, accordingly has this coronis at the end of each one. The commencement of a fresh poem is denoted by a separate sign (VI. 1). In the scholia by the first hand of C–D paragraphi are frequently inserted to mark off the notes, and in A–B they appear sporadically for a similar purpose. In some other respects an apparent difference of practice in the two main divisions of the manuscript is to be noted. In C–D a curved line has in several cases been placed below letters or syllables, with no very clear object (cf. note on Fr. 82. 23); this does not occur in what remains of A–B. In the latter on the other hand there occur before lines certain critical signs, consisting of the ordinary *diple*,

which was used for a variety of purposes, or a small cross, which is also found in the Paris Alcman and *Berl. Klassikertexte* V. (2) xvi (Corinna). This was not one of the recognized Aristarchean symbols and its precise signification is not certain; it may, as Wilamowitz says (*op. cit.*, p. 64), be no more than a *nota bene*. Another example of a *diple* in a Pindar papyrus occurs in 659. 17. In C–D there is in four columns no instance of the use of such marginal symbols, which though not quite conclusive at any rate establishes a presumption against their employment elsewhere in that part of the papyrus.

How far hands other than the first have contributed towards these many lectional aids it is difficult precisely to determine. Unless there are considerable differences in the colour of the ink, which is here not the case, responsibility for such marks cannot be assigned. To a large extent at least, they appear in the present case to be original, and none of them is likely to be much later in date than the body of the manuscript. The numeration of the lines by hundreds (II. 25, &c.) is undoubtedly by the first hand: the title at VI. 1 appears to be a subsequent insertion.

The path of the reader has been still further smoothed by the frequent notes which accompany the text and which embody both apparatus criticus and commentary. A number of variants are recorded between the lines or in the margin, sometimes with a statement of the authority to whom they were due. Several readings are attributed to Ζ or Ζη (cf. note on IV. 58), who no doubt is Zenodotus of Ephesus. Others are coupled with the abbreviations Αρ, Αριστ, Αν and Αρν, which are less easily identified, since it is uncertain how many names they represent. Perhaps Aristarchus for the first pair and Aristophanes for the second is the most likely interpretation; cf. note on II. 61. Chrysippus the pupil of Zenodotus and instructor of Aristarchus is probably referred to in Fr. 84. 13, and Theon, a later grammarian, may be named at II. 37. Other lections have the common adjunct γρ(άφεται), or more often stand by themselves, usually enclosed between two dots. The explanatory notes, which are especially full in II and in C–D, deal with names or allusions, grammatical points, and the like, or elucidate the sense—not always very successfully.

These additions are in several hands which are not always readily distinguished. The textual notes in A–B are mostly in uncial or semi-uncial script, and sometimes are certainly due to the first scribe, e.g. the variants at V. 38, VI. 55, &c. This scribe was moreover a careful if not an elegant writer, and made few slips which he did not himself correct; an instance occurs at VII. 1. To a distinct class belong certain other entries in a more sloping hand (H 2), including II. 1 θωρακος, 37 κᾱι, 40 δάιοις, IV. 4 σατο, V. 21 ερίπναις, VI. 1 title (?), 10 αεξων, 14 κλυτον αλσος, 52 interlinear ε and πι θειν (?), the note opposite ll. 108–9, VII. 2

επεσ[ι] (?), Fr. 16. 5 κελαδησαθ υμνους, Fr. 21. 7 εσσεται. A third more rapid and lighter hand (H 3) is responsible for II. 2 πατριου, 27 ελ[(?), V. 45 πανδωρου κ.τ.λ., and perhaps IV. 62 υιο(ς) κ.τ.λ.; while a few more variants, namely II. 52 interlinear ι and αει, 75 ἐν δε, IV. 58 Ζη(νοδοτος) κ.τ.λ., VI. 180 στεφανοισι νιν . [. . .], are in the cursive (S 1) of the explanatory scholia. Here again a distinction has to be drawn. Two groups of these cursive notes are traceable throughout the papyrus, (a)=S 1, in a small and as a rule clear writing, and (b)=S 2, in a more rapid and negligent and generally rather larger cursive, the ink of which also is of a lighter shade; e. g. in the scholium opposite II. 43 το νοημα . . . ελπιδας belongs to S 1, the rest of the note to S 2. Evidently these two groups were written on different occasions, and at first sight would be put down to different persons; but they are of a similar character and at times approximate closely in style, and we hesitate to say that they could not proceed from a single hand. It is a question too how far the various readings classed under H 2 and H 3 may not be the work of the scholiast or scholiasts; H 2 and S 1, at any rate, are not unlikely to be identical. In C–D such variants as occur and many of the scholia proper are in the hand of the text, but S 1 and S 2 are responsible for a number of additions.

To turn now to the individual poems. Of the first there remain only the last ten verses, in which however the allusion to Thebes and the Theban δαφνηφορία (cf. l. 8 note and Frs. 129–31) clearly shows that the paean was written for the poet's native city on the occasion of that festival. The metre, which is logaoedic, is as follows:—

. . . . .
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –
– ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –
⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑
⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
– – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –
⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑
⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – –
– ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – –
– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –

II. The title of the second paean has disappeared with the margin at the commencement, but this loss is made good by the first few lines, which practically form a title, and with other internal evidence render it abundantly clear that the poem was composed for the people of the Thracian Abdera, and dedicated to Apollo. It is unfortunately mutilated, two of the seven and

a half columns comprising it being wholly lost and another badly damaged ; the remainder however, amounting to three-fifths of the whole, which consisted of 108 verses, is in good condition. Abderus, the mythical comrade of Heracles, who is said to have founded the city to perpetuate his memory, is addressed in the opening line ; and the subsequent fortunes of the place, the failure of a settlement from Clazomenae (ll. 55–6, 63–4), its successful colonization from Teos (ll. 3, 65 sqq.), and its later prosperity (ll. 25–7), are appropriately commemorated. There are some rather obscure allusions (ll. 39–40, 104–7) to a war in which the Abderites were taking part. The date is subsequent to the battle of Salamis, since the occupation of Athens by the Persians is referred to in ll. 28 sqq. Perhaps the poem was written about the time of the formation of the confederacy of Delos, when hostilities directed against the Persians were still going on in the region of Abdera ; or a struggle with some Thracian neighbour may have been in progress. The whole ode is characterized by a distinctly warlike note. It consists of three systems, the strophe having eleven and the epode fourteen logaoedic cola, and each epode ending with the refrain *ἰήϊε παιάν, ἰήϊε· παιὰν δὲ μήποτε λείποι.* Similar refrains are found in IV and V.

In the following schemes a comma at the end of a verse indicates synaphia as shown by the division of a word between two cola, and a vertical line marks hiatus. *Syllabae ancipites* at the ends of verses will be apparent without special note.

Strophe

– ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑̲ – ⏑ – ⏑ – –
⏑̄ – ⏑̲ – ⏑ –
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –,
⏑̲ – ⏑ ⏑ – – |
– – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑̄ – ⏑ ⏑, (better – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑̄ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑̲
– – ⏑ ⏑̲ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –)
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
– – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –
– ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
– – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ –
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –

Epode

– – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑̲
– ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –, (better – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – |
– ⏑ – | – – – – – ⏑ ⏑ – – – – – – – ⏑ ⏑ – –)

5 ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ –[|]
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ – –,
∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ – ⏑
∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –,
⏑ – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ –
10 – – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏑
– ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ –,
– – ∪ ∪ – –
– – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –
∪ – ∪ ∪ – –

III. The third paean is hopelessly mutilated. From the stichometry of the papyrus it may be inferred to have consisted of 102 lines (cf. note on l. 17) out of which seventy-five have disappeared altogether, while only one short passage of six verses in which Apollo is addressed is intelligible. The occasion of the ode and the patrons for whom it was written are not determinable; the Graces are named at the commencement.

IV. A peculiar interest attaches to the fourth paean, which is without doubt the ode spoken of at the commencement of the first Isthmian. Pindar there apologizes for having postponed the completion of a paean to the Delian Apollo to be sung at Ceos in order that he might first celebrate a victory won by his compatriot Herodotus at the Isthmian Games. Cf. ll. 6 sqq.

εἶξον, ὦ 'πολλωνιάς (sc. Delos)· ἀμφοτερᾶν τοι χαρίτων σὺν θεοῖς ζεύξω τέλος,
καὶ τὸν ἀκειρεκόμαν Φοῖβον χορεύων
ἐν Κέῳ ἀμφιρύτᾳ σὺν ποντίοις
ἀνδράσιν, καὶ τὰν ἁλιερκέα 'Ισθμοῦ
δειράδ',

and the scholia upon the occasion of the poem:—*οἱ Κεῖοι Δηλιακὸν παιᾶνα ᾐξίουν τὸν ποιητὴν γράψαι . . . μέλλοντος γὰρ Κείοις γράφειν προσοδιακὸν παιᾶνα . . . ἐάσας ἀσυμπέραστον τὸ εἰς Δῆλον ποίημα συντάττει τῷ 'Ηροδότῳ τὸν ἐπίνικον.* It is now clear that the well-known fragments 87–8 χαῖρ', ὦ *θεοδμάτα κ.τ.λ.* which have been referred to this Cean paean (Schneider, Pind. Fragm. p. 29; so Schroeder) have no connexion with it. On the other hand the conjecture of Dissen and Fennell that the poem was sung at the temple of Apollo at Carthaea is corroborated by the allusion in l. 13. The central idea is the virtue of contentment with a simple life like that of the Ceans in their rocky island, which was nevertheless celebrated as the home of athletes and poets. This lesson finds further illustration in the stories of Melampus (ll. 28 sqq.) and of the local hero Euxantius (ll. 35 sqq.), in

the narrative of which some novel points emerge (see commentary). An interesting coincidence occurs with a quotation found in a corrupt form in Plutarch (ll. 50 sqq.).

The poem consisted of sixty-two verses divided into two systems, the strophe containing ten, and the epode, which as in II ends with a refrain, eleven lines. Two consecutive columns out of five are well preserved, but the remaining three are too severely damaged for continuous restoration. The metre is logaoedic.

Strophe

⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –
– – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏒ |
– – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – –,
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏓ – – ⏑ ⏑ |
⏑ – ⏑ – – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏒[|]
– – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏓ –,
– ⏒ – ⏑ ⏑ –,
– ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –,
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –

Epode

⏓ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑,
– – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
– – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – ⏑ –
– – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓ (*syll. anceps* ?)
– – ⏑ ⏑ [– –] ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓ (*syll. anceps* ?)
⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓
– ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ –
⏑ – ⏓ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – –
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –
⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏓

V. To Delos is also dedicated the next paean, the shortest and simplest in structure in the collection. Like *Ol.* xiv, *Pyth.* vi, xii, &c. it consists of strophes only; there were eight short stanzas in dactylo-epitritic metre, each commencing with the invocation *ἰήϊε Δάλι' Ἄπολλον*. The first six of these have almost entirely disappeared, and no sense can be gleaned until the thirty-sixth line is reached, from which point to the end there is no lacuna. The topic here

is the spread of the Ionian folk over Euboea, the Sporades, and Delos ; and very likely the Ionians were the principal subject throughout. Perhaps the ode was written for the Athenians.

Strophe

⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
– ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ |
– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –
– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –,
– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –

VI. Paean VI is inscribed ' For the Delphians, to Pytho,' and was composed for performance at the Theoxenia (ll. 61–2), one of the three principal festivals in the Delphic calendar. Like its predecessors this long ode has sustained considerable damage ; three columns have disappeared entirely, two more are hopelessly mutilated, and another is very imperfect. Still even with these deductions about half of the 183 lines are complete or easily restored. The first eighteen, after which there is a gap, belong to an extremely graceful exordium, the commencement of which was already familiar in a citation by Aristides, though its classification was a matter of doubt ; Schroeder puts it in the Prosodia. The body of the paean (ll. 74–120) is occupied with a sketch of the fate of Troy and the subsequent fortunes of Neoptolemus, including the passage, already partly known from a quotation, which offended the susceptibilities of the Aeginetans (cf. notes on ll. 117–9 and 123), and to which reference is made in the seventh Nemean. Pindar there repeats, in language very similar to that used in this paean, his version of the story of Neoptolemus' death (cf. ll. 104–20 with *Nem.* vii. 35–42), and protests that he had no intention of disparaging the Aeacid hero (*Nem.* vii. 64 sqq., 102 sqq.). The date of our paean is therefore prior to B.C. 461, the year of the victory which *Nem.* vii celebrates. From Neoptolemus the poet turns with characteristic suddenness to the praises of Aegina and the myth of the bride of Zeus whose name the island bore ; and here the thread is lost.

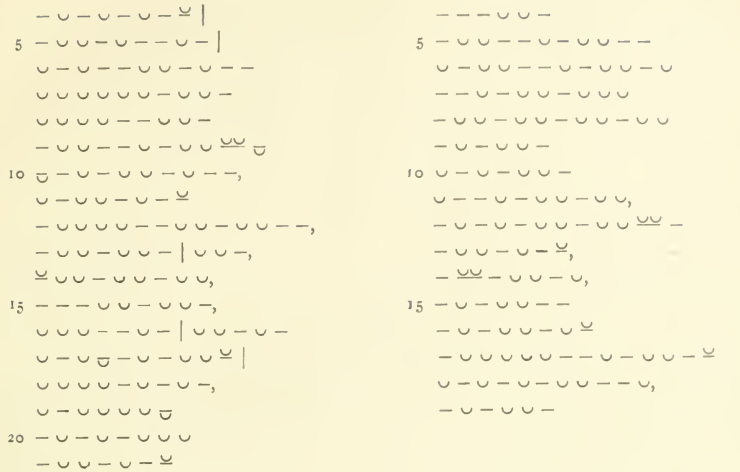
The poem contains three systems, of which the strophe consists of twenty-one and the epode of nineteen verses with logaoedic rhythm.

Strophe

⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –,
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –
– ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –,

Epode

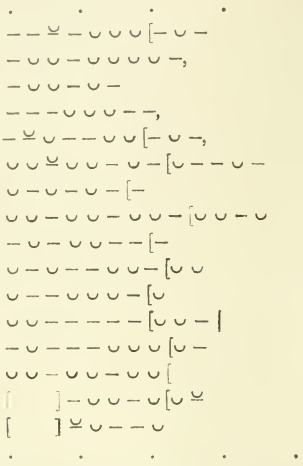
– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑
– – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – –



VII. Of the seventh paean the commencement is preserved in a mutilated condition, but after the eighteenth line the connexion is broken, and it is doubtful, as we have said, whether the fragments grouped under B belong to VII or to another poem or poems. In Fr. 16, where there are some complete lines at the bottom of a column, Pindar speaks of his art and describes himself as inspired to walk in the way of his predecessors, among whom he perhaps refers especially to Homer. Fr. 19, which may have followed close after, also has some well-preserved lines in the lower part of the second column, where the myth of Asteria the sister of Leto is related. The rest of A–B consists of small scattered fragments.

VIII. At Fr. 82, the first of C, we again arrive at a connected passage of sixteen more or less complete consecutive verses which, whatever the relation of C–D to A–B, a question to be considered immediately, no doubt belonged to a poem different from any that have preceded. The first column of this fragment appears from the remains of the scholia to have contained a reference to the story of Erginus, who in revenge for the murder of his father exacted a tribute from Thebes and was eventually slain by Heracles. Before the beginning of the next column, however, a widely different subject has been reached. Troy is now the scene, where Cassandra, on the departure of Paris in quest of Helen, prophesies

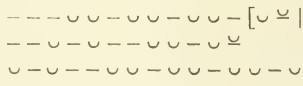
the impending doom presaged by the well-known dream of Hecuba. The scheme of the lines is appended :—

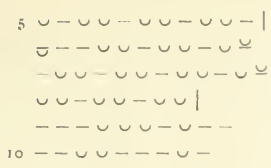


Most of the other fragments of C may well belong to the same poem. Ἀλέξανδ[ρος (?) is mentioned in Fr. 96 ; but the only other piece which has any complete lines is Fr. 84, which gives the beginning of a speech of a person whose identity is unknown.

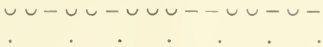
IX. D is more valuable, for in one small piece there is a coincidence with the well known Pindaric fragment on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun—Ἀκτὶς ἀελίου κ.τ.λ.—and a practically complete column gives most of a subsequent strophe and antistrophe from the same ode, thus establishing the metre and therewith the text of the extant fragment. In the later section the poet passes to the subject of the Theban seer Tenerus, son of Apollo and the nymph Melia ; the poem was evidently written for Thebes. The strophe consists of ten logaoedic verses ; of the epode there is no clear trace beyond the one line already known.

Strophe





Epode



Some of the minor fragments of D are no doubt also to be assigned to IX ; but the only pieces of any size, Frs. 129-31, containing parts of two consecutive columns, are proved by the metre to belong to a different ode.

It remains to be considered whether the poems represented in C–D are to be ranked, as those in A (with which B is naturally connected) undoubtedly are, as paeans. External evidence is inconclusive, for though there is a change of scribe at C the continuity of the sections is in a measure preserved, as has been explained above, by the recto and part of the scholia, as well as by the similar height of the papyrus and the columns of writing. The contents of the fragments must therefore be the main guide ; and here it must be admitted that in certain respects C–D appear to be peculiar. There is no sign in these sections of ἰή or παιάν ; and though the importance of this argument *a silentio* might easily be exaggerated, the fragments are sufficiently extensive to make the absence of those characteristic words remarkable. Secondly, it is curious to what an extent C–D are concerned with seers and soothsaying ; see Fr. 82 throughout. Fr. 84. 10 sqq., Fr. 128 (Tenerus), Fr. 131. 20–2, and Fr. 139. There is a reference to an oracle in II. 73 ; but here such subjects almost monopolize the field. If however these poems are not paeans, what are they ? Boeckh assigned the fragment on the eclipse of the sun to the Ὑπορχήματα on the strength of the passage prefacing the quotation in Dionys. Hal. *de Demosth. dict.* c. 7 ταῦτα (sc. certain passages from Plato's *Phaedrus*) . . . εἰ λάβοι μέλη καὶ ῥυθμοὺς ὥσπερ οἱ διθύραμβοι καὶ τὰ ὑπορχήματα, τοῖς Πινδάρου ποιήμασιν ἐοικέναι δόξειεν ἂν τοῖς εἰς τὸν ἥλιον εἰρημένοις. Hence Boeckh infers that the fragment must either come from a dithyramb or a hyporcheme, and that, since there is nothing Dionysiac in it, the latter must be the right category—a conclusion accepted by Schroeder. In favour of this classification may now be set the consideration that the paeans and hyporchemes were closely connected ; cf. Menander Rhet. *de Encom.* p. 27 τοὺς μὲν γὰρ (τῶν ὕμνων) εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα παιῶνας καὶ ὑπορχήματα νομίζομεν, τοὺς δὲ εἰς Διόνυσον διθυράμβους κ.τ.λ. On the other hand Boeckh's argument that the men-

tion by Dionysius of διθύραμβοι and ὑπορχήματα limits the choice to one or other of those classes is unconvincing. Since the fragment cannot be included in both it need not necessarily belong to either; if Dionysius meant to imply that it came from a hyporcheme why did he go out of his way to mention dithyrambs? Boeckh further considers that the metre is well adapted to dancing, and therefore favours a hyporcheme; but this argument is counterbalanced by the apparent unsuitability of the predominant themes of C–D to an orchestic accompaniment. There is moreover another class of Pindar's works to which the paeans stood in close relation, and whose claims should be considered, namely the προσόδια,—witness the passage already cited (p. 11) from Proclus: καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ τὰ προσόδια τινὲς παιᾶνας λέγουσιν. It is noticeable that the word πρ]οσόδι[ον is not improbably to be restored in a mutilated scholium in Fr. 108, though this of course no more justifies the inference that the odes were προσόδια than the occurrence of δαφνη[φορικόν in Fr. 107 authorizes us to hold that they were δαφνηφορικά. That references to the Theban δαφνηφορία should be found in both C and D (Frs. 107 and 129–31, notes) is not surprising if VIII as well as IX had a Theban setting; there is an allusion to the same festival in I, which is doubtless a paean. The δαφνηφορικά, like the παρθένεια of which they were a subdivision, were designed for a female chorus (cf. 659), of which there is no trace in these fragments, while the masculine participle in the gloss on IX. 36 points in a contrary direction.

On the whole, though it remains questionable whether a distinction should not be drawn between the contents of A–B and C–D, the evidence hardly seems

A. Col. i (Fr. 1).

πρινοδυνηρᾰγηραοσσ̣[. . . . .]ο̣λειν
πριντισευθυμιᾱισκιαζετω
νοημ᾽άκοτονὲπ[.]μέτραϊ̣δων μ̣ε̣τριω̣ς̣
δυνα̣μινοικόθετον·
5 [.]ηιηνῦνὸπαντελησενιαυτοσ
ὧρα[.]τεθεμίγονοι
[. . . .]ιπποναστυθηβασεπηλθον
[. . . .]λ̣ωνιδαῖτ̣α̣φὶλὴσὶστέφανοναγοντεσ·
[. .]νδελαωνγενεανδαρονερεπτοι
10 [. .]φρονοσανθεσινευνομιασ·

sufficient to justify their definite attribution to different classes, still less for determining how the second class should be named.

Regret for the loss of so much of Pindar's work is undoubtedly intensified by the discovery of this papyrus. In spite of their mutilated condition the new poems display merit of a very high order, though they may not rank among the best efforts of the poet's genius. The long ode to Delphi (VI), in particular, is remarkably fine. Its extremely graceful exordium approaches the easier manner of the Oxyrhynchus Partheneion (659); but in general the style is more akin to that of the Epinicia, though, as V shows, the metrical structure of the Paeans was sometimes not less simple than that of the Partheneia. Mythical themes are frequent, as they no doubt were in all Pindar's poetry, and they would of course be prominent in compositions of this class; but the other points in Eustathius' criticism quoted above (p. 11), that in comparison with the Epinician poems the rest of the poet's work was inferior in common interest and in clearness, are not justified by what is now known of the Partheneia and the Paeans.

In the reconstruction and elucidation of this papyrus we owe much to Prof. Blass, whose knowledge and ingenuity were perhaps never more conspicuous than in dealing with fragments of lyric poetry. The commentary unfortunately could not have the benefit of his revision, but the proof-sheets have been submitted to Prof. J. B. Bury, to whom we are indebted for a number of valuable criticisms and suggestions.

I. [ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ].

. . . . . .

πρὶν ὀδυνηρὰ γήραος σ[χεδὸν μ]ολεῖν
πρίν τις εὐθυμία σκιαζέτω
νόημ' ἄκοτον ἐπ[ὶ] μέτρα, ἰδὼν μετρίως.
δύναμιν οἰκόθετον.
[ἰ]ὴ ἰή, νῦν ὁ παντελὴς ἐνιαυτὸς
Ὥρα[ί] τε Θεμίγονοι
[φίλ]ιππον ἄστυ Θήβας ἐπῆλθον
[Ἀπόλ]λωνι δαῖτα φιλησιστέφανον ἄγοντες·
[τὰ]ν δὲ λαῶν γενεὰν δαρὸν ἐρέπτοι
[σώ]φρονος ἄνθεσιν εὐνομίας.

[. . .]οσθρονιασαβδηρεχαλκοθωραξ θωρακοσ [
[. . .]ειδανοστεπαῖ πατριου
αποσουτ᾽αρχηνλαβωνοιοναπ[
[. . .]ενιαονιτονδελαωι αποικοιγαρεισινοιαβδηριται[
δεστιτησιωνιασπολισῃ[
[. . .]ανα[. .]ωξω
5 [. . .]ρηνοναπ[.]λλωναπάρταφρο τοποσενα[
μενοσ[.]που[

Col. ii (Fr. 2, Col. i).

Opposite ll. 26–7.

. . .
]ροισ
]
]
]ν
. . .

Col. iii (Fr. 2, Col. ii).

. . . . . .
[13 letters] . . α[. .] θαρρουσανω[
[. . . . .] . ν . [.] . [.]ι[
[. .]ατινα[. . . . .]ναίω
25 ῾ῖς × θ[.]ᾱϊκιανγ[. .]αναμπελο[. .]
σαντεκαιευκαρπον·μημοιμεγασερπων[
κἄμοιεξοπισωχρονοσεμπεδοσ· ελ[
νεόπολισειμι·ματροσ
δεματέρ᾽εμᾶσετεκονεμπᾱ̄ν τηντεκ[
ι περσωνηνι[
30 πολεμωιπυριπλᾱγει εκτισανοια[
× σαν·ειδετισαρκεωνφιλοισ εανενκαι[
κ᾽τουσπολ[
·ξ· δυναταιομ[
εχθροισιτραχυσυπαντιαζει ειστονλο[
μοχθοσησυχιανφερει ερρει
καιρωικαταβαινων· δυναταιομοχθοσι[
35 ϊηϊεπαιανϊηϊε·παιαν

II. [ΑΒΔΗΡΙΤΑΙΣ].

στρ. α΄ 1 [*Ναΐδ*]*ος Θρονίας Ἄβδηρε χαλκοθώραξ* θώρακος
2 [*Ποσ*]*ειδᾶνός τε παῖ,* πατρίου.
3 [*σέθ*]*εν Ἰάονι τόνδε λαῷ* ἀπὸ σοῦ τ(ὴν) ἀρχὴν λαβὼν οἷον ἀπ[ὸ . . .
4 [*παι*]*ᾶνα* [*δι*]*ώξω* ἄποικοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ Ἀβδηρῖται [Τηΐων, Τέως
δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας πόλις η[
5 [*Δή*]*ρηνον Ἀπ*[*ό*]*λλωνα πάρ τ' Ἀφρο*[*δίταν* ⏑ ⏓ τόπος ἐν Ἀ[βδήροις οὕτω καλούμενος [ὅ]που [

Lines 6–20 lost = str. 6–11, antistr. 1–9.

Fr. 2, Col. i, opposite ll. 26–7.

. . .
Ἀβδή]ροις
]
]
]ν

10 – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ –
11 ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑
ἐπ. α΄ 1 – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – θαρροῦσαν ω . . .
[. . . . .]. ν . [.] . [.]
2 ⏑ *ατινα* [*τάνδε*] *ναίω*
25 3 *Θ*[*ρ*]*αϊκίαν γ*[*αῖ*]*αν ἀμπελό*[*εσ*]*σάν τε καὶ*
4 *εὔκαρπον· μή μοι μέγας ἕρπων*
5 *κάμοι ἐξοπίσω χρόνος ἔμπεδος.* ελ[
6 *νεόπολίς εἰμι· ματρὸς*
7 *δὲ ματέρ' ἐμᾶς ἔ*⟨*πιδ*⟩*ον ἔμπαν* τὴν τεκ[οῦσαν πόλιν . . .
Περσῶν ἠνί[κα . . .
30 8 *πολεμίῳ πυρὶ πλαγεῖ-* ἔκτισαν οἱ Ἀ[θηναῖοι Τέω.
9 *σαν. εἰ δέ τις ἀρκέων φίλοις* ἐὰν ἐν καὶ[ρῷ . . .
κ[αὶ) τοὺς πολ[εμίους . . .
10 *ἐχθροῖσι τραχὺς ὑπαντιάζει* δύναται ὁ μ[όχθος . . .
εἰς τὸν λο[ιπὸν χρόνον . . .
11 *μόχθος ἡσυχίαν φέρει* ἔρρει.
12 *καιρῷ καταβαίνων.* δύναται ὁ μόχθος ι[
35 13 *ἰήϊε παιάν, ἰήϊε· παιὰν*

Col. iv (Fr. 3, Col. i). Plate II.

[12 letters]οι
[. .]ναταιη . [. . .]ρ̣ω̣ν̣ω̣φελειαηδαυχουσινητολ̣η̣μμα
[„ „]αλκᾰιδετειχοσανδρων — κᾱι θε^ω ομοιοντωιποτε
ρονδικατειχοσυψιστονησκο
[„ „]α̣ι̣ — λιαισαπαταισ
[11 „]ρ̣α·μαρναμαιμαν
[12 „]·σ· — δάιοισ
[11 „]ειδαν̣ι̣ο̣[. .]ενοσ
[„ „]τωνγαρ̣α̣ν̣τ̣ομενων
[„ „]φερεσθαι — τονοηματ[.]ιουτοενοισγαρδιαφερειν
δοκουσινοιαντιπαλοικαταπολεμονταυ
[12 „] . σε̣λ̣ασ — ταεκπονειναγαθασυποτιθεταινικησ
ελπιδασ ηηιπποσευθετειπροστ'τ'αν
[11 „]τικυρσηι — τιπαλωνπαντοδαπηνεφοδονοιονεαντε
[„ „]ι̣μᾱνΐει — φθονει — πεζευωσινεαντεμεθιππωνπαρα
τυγχανωσιντρεψομεθαα υτουσ
[ ] — τωιιππικωι
[18 „]αοναστων — ειηυβρισ̣α̣ιτουσεντηιπολει
στασιαζοντασδ̣εκαιπολιτε̣[.]οντ̣ασ
[ ] — πολλωιμαλλοντουσεπηλυδασε̣π̣ιτιθε
[16 „]ο̣ι·τὸδευβου — α̣νηοξεω̣σ

Col. v (Fr. 3, Col. ii). Plate II.

λιαιτεκαια̣[. .]ο̣ι
·ι·
ε̣γ̣κειμενο[.]α̣ειθαλλειμὰλα — αει
καισε[.]διαι[.]κ̣αιτομενδιδοτω
θ̣ε̣ο̣σ̣[. .]'εχ̣θ̣[.]ανοησαισ
ηδηφθονο̣σοιχεται — οιονουκετιδ̣[. . . . . .]σφθονεισθαι
τ'γονε̣ω̣νημ̣[. . . .]ο̣θα̣ν̣ο̣ντ̣ω̣ν̣αλλου
τωνπαλαιπροθανοντων· — δεκ̣α̣ι̣α̣ν̣δ̣ρ̣[. .]α̣σ̣ε̣θα̣ν̣ο̣ν̣γ̣α̣ρ̣
χ̣ρηδανδρατοκευσιφερειν — δει̣[. . . . .]θ̣^λ τ^η ανδρειασενμογ̣η̣σαι
βαθ̣ύδοξοναισαν· — [. . . . . .]υ̣σ̣ι̣ν̣[. . ι̣]πρ[.]στοὺμε̣λ̣
. . . .]ν̣τ̣απολεμουσειγ̣ε̣νοιντο
τοισυνπολεμωικτησαμ[. . . .]
χθοναπολυδωρονολ[ ]
·γ· αρ^L
ενκατεθηκανπέρανα[ ]
παιονωναιχματᾶν[. . . . . .]σ̣
ζαθεαστροφοῦ·αλλᾰ[. . . . . — .] . [.]ρ̣[. .]γαθω̣εκβληθεντεσ
οιενοικο[.]ντ[.]σεπηλθον
επεπεσεμοιρα·τλᾰντ[.]ν̣ — μυνουμ̣[. . . .]υ̣σεκβαλον
δ'έπειταθεοισυνετελεσσα[. . . .]. — τασκ̣α̣ιε̣ν̣ι̣[. . .]αν
υπομειναν[ ]
οιθεοιτελο[ ]

14 [δὲ μήποτε λείπ]οι. [δύ]ναται ἡ τ(ῶν) [ἀνδ]ρῶν ὠφέλεια ἢ δ αὐχοῦσιν ἢ τὸ λῆμμα

στρ. β′ 1 [– ∪ – – ∪ ∪ –] ἀλκᾷ δὲ τεῖχος ἀνδρῶν (ἀλ-)καὶ Θέων(ι)· ὅμοιον τῷ ‘πότερον δίκᾳ τεῖχος ὕψιστον ἢ σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις.’

2 [ὕψιστον ἵστατ]αι

3 [∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪]ρᾰ· μάρναμαι μὰν

40 4 [– – ∪ ∪ δᾴο]ις· δαΐοις.

5 [– – ∪ Ποσ]ειδάνιο[ν γ]ένος [ἵππων ∪ ⏑

6 τῶν γὰρ ἀντομένων

7 [∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪] φέρεσθαι τὸ νόημα τ[ο]ιοῦτο· ἐν οἷς γὰρ διαφέρειν δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἀντίπαλοι κατὰ πόλεμον ταῦτα ἐκπονεῖν ἀγαθὰς ὑποτίθεται νίκης ἐλπίδας. ἡ ἡ ἵππος εὐθετεῖ πρὸς τ(ὴν) τ(ῶν) ἀντιπάλων παντοδαπὴν ἐφοδον, οἷον ἐάν τε πεζεύωσιν ἐάν τε μεθ’ ἵππων παρατυγχάνωσιν τρεψόμεθα αὐτοὺς τῷ ἱππικῷ.

8 [– – ∪ ∪ –] σέλας

45 9 [– ∪ – πο]τικύρσῃ

10 [– – ∪ ∪]ῑ̃ μανίει φθονεῖ.

11 [∪ ∪ – ∪ – –]

ἀντ. β′ 1 [– ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ⏑ – ∪ λ]αὸν ἀστῶν εἴη ὑβρίσαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει στασιάζοντας δὲ καὶ πολιτε(ύ)οντας πολλῷ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἐπήλυδας ἐπιτίθε(σθαι) ἂν ἢ ὀξέως.

2 [⏑ – ⏑ – ∪ –]

50 3 [∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪]οι· τὸ δ’ εὐβου-

4 λίᾳ τε καὶ α[ἰδ]οῖ

5 ἐγκείμενο[ν] αἰεὶ θάλλει μαλακαῖς ϵ[ὐ]δίαι[ς·] ἀεί.

6 καὶ τὸ μὲν διδότω

7 θεός· [ὁ δ]’ ἐχθ[ρ]ὰ νοήσαις

55 8 ἤδη φθόνος οἴχεται οἷον οὐκέτι δ[εῖ ἡμᾶ]ς φθονεῖσθαι

9 τῶν πάλαι προθανόντων· τ(ῶν) γονέων ἡμ(ῶν τ(ῶν) πρ]οθανόντων ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ καὶ ἀνδρ[εί]ας· ἔθανον γάρ.

10 χρὴ δ’ ἄνδρα τοκεῦσι⟨ν⟩ φέρειν δεῖ [τοῖς ἆ]θλ(οις) τῆ(ς) ἀνδρείας ἐμμογῆσαι

11 βαθύδοξον αἶσαν. [συμφέρο]υσιν πρ(ὸ)ς τοὺ⟨ς⟩ μέλλο]ντα⟨ς⟩ πολέμους εἰ γένοιντο.

ἐπ. β′ 1 τοὶ σὺν πολέμῳ κτησάμ[ενοι

60 2 χθόνα πολύδωρον, ὅλ[βον

γ Ἀρ(ίσταρχος?).

3 ἐνκατέθηκαν πέραν ἀ[γρίων] Παιόνων

4 αἰχματᾶν [τε Στρυμονίας γᾶ]ς

5 ζαθέας τροφοῦ· ἄλλα [δ’ ἄγοισά τοι (?) ὑ]π[ὲ]ρ τὸ⟨ν⟩ Ἄθω ἐκβληθέντες

6 ἐπέπεσε μοῖρα· πλάντ[ω]ν οἱ ἐνοικο[ῦ]ντ[ε]ς ἐπῆλθον ⟨ἀ⟩μνούμ[ενοι τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας, καὶ ἐνί[κησ]αν.

65 7 δ’ ἔπειτα θεοὶ συνετέλεσσα[ν. ....].

ὑπομεινάν[των]

οἱ θεοὶ τελο[ῦσιν.]

Col. vi (Fr. 3, Col. iii).

οδεκαλοντιπονη[.]αισ
ευαγοριαισι[[ν]]φλεγει·
κεινοισδυπερτατονηλθεφεγγοσ
ανταδ[.]σμενεωνμελαμ
φυλλουπροπαροιθεν· τοποσονεναβδηροισ
ιηιεπαιανιηιε·παιαν μ[. .]αμφυλλον
δεμηποτελειποι·
[.]λλαμινποταμωισχεδονμολονταφυρσει π . [
ο . |
βαιοῖσσυνεντεσιν δυναταιφυρσειαποκτενει[
οημετεροσστρατοστ'γονε[
ἀν'
πὸτιπολυνστρατον·ἐνδεμηνοσ ἔνδε
πρωτοντυχεναμαρ·
ἄγγελλεδεφοινικόπεζαλό προελεγεντ'μελλ[
γονπαρθενοσευμενησἐκάτα τοισημετεροισ
τονεθελονταγενεσθαι· ἄοϊηθελενγενεσθα[
[.]υνδαυ[.]υκυμαχανων

Col. vii lost.

Col. viii (Fr. 4, Col. i).

[. . . .]εκαλεοντιμολπᾶι
[. . . .]ναυεοδμοναμφιτεπαρ
[. . . .]ιαισπε[. .]αισυψηλαισθαμὰδ[. . .]ων
[. . . .]κῴπ . [. .]σϊϊσταμεναιχορον
[. . . .]ποδαπ[. .]θενοιχαλ
[. . . .]κελαδ[. . .]τιγλυκυναυδαῖ
[. . . .]ον·εμο[. . . . .]'. εσ[.] τ'ωιδην
[. . . .]υκλεα[. . . . .]χα[.]ιν
[. . . .]ηρεκαισι[. . . .]ππο χάρμᾶν
[. . . .]ιᾶιπολε[.]ωιτελευ[ ] ουτοσκαιο[
[. . .]ωιπροβι[.]αζοισ· ισωστηινι[
[. . . . .]ηιε·παιαν
[. . . . .]ποι·

8 ὁ δὲ καλόν τι πονή[σ]αις
9 εὐαγορίαισιν φλέγει·
10 κείνοις δ' ὑπέρτατον ἦλθε φέγγος
11 ἄντα δυσμενέων Μελαμ-
70 12 φύλλου προπάροιθεν. τόπος οὗ(τος) ἐν Ἀβδήροις Μ(ελ)αμφυλλον.
13 ἰήϊε παιάν, ἰήϊε· παιὰν
14 δὲ μήποτε λείποι.
στρ. γ′ 1 [ἀ]λλά μιν ποταμῷ σχεδὸν μολόντα φύρσει π . [ο . [
2 βαιοῖς σὺν ἔντεσιν Ἀ(ριστοφά)ν(ης?) δύναται φύρσει ἀποκτενεῖ [ὁ ἡμέτερος στρατὸς τ(ῶν) γονέ(ων
75 3 ποτὶ πολὺν στρατόν· ἓν δὲ μηνὸς ἓν δί.
4 πρῶτον τύχεν ἅμαρ·
5 ἄγγελλε δὲ φοινικόπεζα λόγον παρθένος προέλεγεν τ(ὴν) μέλλ[ουσαν μάχην? τοῖς ἡμετέροις.
6 εὐμενὴς Ἑκάτα
7 τὸν ἐθέλοντα γενέσθαι· ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) ὃν ἤθελεν γενέσθα[ι.
80 8 [σ]ὺν δ' αὖ γ[λ]υκυμαχάνων

Lines 81–95 lost = str. 9–11, antistr. 1–11, ep. 1.

ἐπ. γ′ 2 [∪]ε καλέοντι μολπαὶ
3 [Πίνδο]ν ἀν' εὔοδμον ἀμφί τε Παρ[νασσ]ίαις
4 πέ[τρ]αις ὑψηλαῖς θαμὰ Δ[ελφ]ῶν
5 [ἑλι]κώπι[δε]ς ἱστάμεναι χορὸν
100 6 [ταχύ]ποδα π[αρ]θένοι χαλ-
7 [κέᾳ] κελαδ[εῦν]τι γλυκὺν αὐδᾷ
8 [νόμ]ον· ἐμο[ὶ δὲ ἐκὼ]ν ἐσ- τ(ὴν) ᾠδήν.
9 [λῶν ε]ὐκλέα [κραίνω]ν χάριν,
10 [Ἄβδ]ηρε, καὶ στ[ρατὸν] ἱπποχάρμαν
105 11 [—]ιᾳ πολέ[μ]ῳ τελευ- οὗτος καὶ ο[
12 [ταί]ῳ προβι[β]άζοις. ἴσως τῇ νί[κῃ.
13 [ἰήϊε παιάν, ἰ]ήϊε· παιὰν
14 [δὲ μήποτε λεί]ποι.

[. . . . .] . ναγλαο
[. . . . .]ναιχαριτε[.]

Fragment of Col. vii (?).

Fr. 5. . . .
]
]ολε[.]
]ται
]
]ον
]αβδ[
]
. . .

Col. ix (Fr. 4, Col. ii).

. [
ιει . [. .]ο[
αγλαϊᾶντ[
ματέρ[
ναονο[
καιθυοε[
βωμον [
οκτωκ[
νψοθεν [
αοιδᾶισενεὐπλε[
γαρυϊ̈ν[.]νδεχρυσο[
ωριονποτιχρονον[
θεασ[[τε]]ελικαμπυκ[
ελαυν[.]ισαναμβροτ[
φαεννοσαιθηρ·

5 columns lost.

Col. xv (Fr. 6).

]νσθενοσιερᾶν
ω
]ἑοπ'αυλονομφαν
]λοσ [.]ιλουμοριαυπεργαναειτωιπυ[
λαμπειεξουταγαθασημ[
]θυοντων ηαναδοσιστουκαπνου

Fr. 5. . . .
]
]ολε[ ]
]ται
]
]ον
]ι Ἀβδ[ηρ

III.

[. . . . . .] . ν ἀγλαο-
[. . . . . .]ναι Χάριτε[ς]

. [
ιει . [. .]οζ[
ἀγλαϊᾶν τ[
ματέρ[
ναὸν ο[
καὶ θυόε[ντα
βωμὸν [
ὀκτὼ κ[
ὑψόθεν [
ἀοιδαῖς ἐν εὐπλε[κέσι φωνᾷ μελι-
γάρυι, τ[ί]ν δὲ χρυσο[
ὥριον ποτὶ χρόνον [
θεᾶς θ' ἑλικάμπυκ[ος Σ'ελάνας, ἀνίκα (?)
ἐλαύν[ε]ις ἀν' ἄμβροτ[ον κέλευθον, ἀμφὶ δὲ λάμπει (?)
φαεννὸς αἰθήρ.

Lines 18–92 lost.

]ν σθένος ἱερὰν
χαλκ]έοπ' αὐλῶν ὀμφὰν
]λος [.]ιλου μόρια ὑπεργανάει τῷ πυρὶ . . .
λάμπει ἐξ οὗ τὰ ἀγαθὰ σημ[αίνεται.
] θυόντων ἡ ἀνάδοσις τοῦ καπνοῦ.

] .
] . [. . . .] . ν·
]ο̣λατ[. . .]
]υ . τηι̣[ ]·
]δο̣[.]εχορον
]

]αρτεμιν·
]υσομαι
]ο̣σαυ̣δαν·
]αικωνεδνώσεται· σατο ἄ υμνηθη[
.π.
] . δενεωνδυνατωτερον·

Col. xvi (Fr. 7, Col. i).

[. . . . . .]ᾱκαταπασανοδον
[. . . . . .]σ̣υχιανκ̣εωι
[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . .]αλλεται·
[. . . . . .]νχρονονορ̣υ̣ε̣ι̣
[. . . . . .]δ̣αλοναγὰκλεα
[. . . . . .]χαρισι·κάρθαι π̣ο̣λ̣[. . . . . .]μ̣ι̣ατησπενταπολεωστησ̣[. .]
ρ
[. . . . . .]χύνωτονστενονχθονοσ
[. . . . . .]ν̣ινβαβυλωνοσαμειψομαι·
[. . . . . .]έχει̣ν̣πεδιων· [15 letters] . . . α̣ι̣σ̣ . . μ̣η̣τιθεσθαι
[. . . . . .]ο̣ι·θεων [,, ,,]ε̣ιπεδιωνεπιτωνν̣η̣[.]ων
[ ]
[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . .]ρη·
[. . . . . .]ν̣ιχθυσιν·

Col. xvii (Fr. 7, Col. ii).

ητοικαιεγωσ[. . .]ελονναιωνδια[
γινωσκομαιμεναρεταισαέθλω̣ν
ελλανίσιν·γινωσκ[.]μα̣[.]δ̣εκαι

] .
] . [. . . .] . ν
]ολατ[. . .]
]υ . τῃ·
]δο[τ]ε χορὸν
]

IV. [ΚΕΙΟΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΔΗΛΟΝ].

στρ. α′ 1 [⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑] Ἄρτεμιν·
2 [– – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑]ύσομαι
3 [– – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑]ος αὐδάν·
4 [⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ γυν]αικῶν ἑδνώσεται· -σατο. ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) ὑμνηθή[σεται.
5 [⏑ – ⏑ – – – –] . δ' ἐπέων δυνατώτερον·

6 [– – – ⏑ ⏑]ᾱ κατὰ πᾶσαν ὁδὸν
7 [⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ἡ]συχίαν Κέῳ
8 [– ⏓ – ⏑ ⏑ –]
9 [– ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –]
10 [⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ β]άλλεται·
ἀντ. α′ 1 [⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –]ν χρόνον ὀρνύει
2 [⏑ – ⏑ –] Δᾶλον ἀγακλέα
3 [⏑ – ⏑ – σὺν] Χάρισι· Κάρθαι- πόλ[ις αὕτη] μία τῆς πενταπόλεως τῆς [Κέ(ω).]
4 [α μὲν ἀλαθέως ἐλα]χύνωτον στέρνον χθονός,
15 5 [ὅμως γε μὰν οὔτοι] νιν Βαβυλῶνος ἀμείψομαι·
6 [– – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑]έχειν πεδίων· [ ]. . . αισ . . μὴ τίθεσθαι
7 [⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑]οι· θεῶν [ ]ει πεδίων ἐπὶ τῶν νή[σ]ων
8 [– ⏓ – ⏑ ⏑ –]
9 [– ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑]ρη·
20 10 [⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑]ν ἰχθύσιν·

ἐπ. α′ 1 ἦ τοι καὶ ἐγὼ σ[κόπ]ελον ναίων δια-
2 γιγνώσκομαι μὲν ἀρεταῖς ἀέθλων
3 Ἑλλανίσιν· γιγνώσκ[ο]μα[ι] δὲ καὶ

μοῖσαν παρεχω[.]αλισ
[.]ικάιτιδιῳ[. . .]ουαρο[. .]αφερει
βιοδωροναμαχανιασακοσ· δωρηματωιβιωι
ἀνιππόσειμικαιβουνομιασαδαεστεροσ Fr. 8, Col. i.
× αλλὄγεμελάμποσουκηθελεν [. . . . .]ιν . . [11 letters] . τ[. . . .] . [.] .
λιπωνπατρ[.]δαμο[. .]ρχ̣ε̣[. .]αργει [26 letters]εμ[. .
[„ „]αργουσ
θεμενοσοι[.]νοπολονγερασ
ϊηϊηωϊεπα[. . . .]
τοδεοικοθε[.]α̣στυκα̣[
καισυνγένει᾽ανδριφ[
στερξαι·ματ[. .]ωνδε̣[
ἑκασεοντων·λογο[. . .] . κ̣τ̣οσευξαν[
επαινεσα̣[. . . .]ωνμαιομενωνὃσανα[

Col. xviii (Fr. 8, Col. ii).

αυταρχεῖν·πολίωνδ᾽εκατὸνπεδεχει[
μεροσεβδομονπασιφ[.]α̣συι καινωσ[
πε̣ιῳ̣[. . . .] . . [.]ιφ . [
[. .]σι·τερασδ᾽ἐονεῖ
πενσφιν·τρεωτοιπολεμον
διοσεννοσιδαντεβαρ[.]κτυπον·
× χθονατόιποτεκαιστρατονἀθροον
πεμψανκεραυνωιτριοδοντιτε
εστονβαθυνταρταρονεμανμα
τεραλιποντεσκαιολονοικονευερκέα·
τ·
επειταπλουτουπειρῶνμακαρωνεπιχωριον
τεθμονπ[.]μπανερῆμοναπωσαμενοσ
μεγαναλλοθικλαρονεχώ.λ̣ῖ̣᾽αν
μοι[. . .]σεμπεδονει
ηκεν̣εαφρηνκυπαρισ τηνκρητηνεπειπολλαιεκει[
παρισσοιγινονται
σον·εαδενὸμονπεριδαϊον

Col. xix (Fr. 9, Col. i).

52]δοταιθα[
·θ[
] λαχο[

μοῖσαν παρέχω[ν] ἄλις·
ἦ καί τι Διω[νύσ]ου ἄρο[υρ]α φέρει
βιόδωρον ἀμαχανίας ἄκος. δώρημα τῷ βίῳ.
ἄνιππός εἰμι καὶ βουνομίας ἀδαέστερος·
ἀλλ' ὅ γε Μέλαμπος οὐκ ἤθελεν [. . . . .]ιν . . [11 letters] . τ[. . . .] . [.] .
[26 letters]εμ[. .
λιπὼν πατρ[ί]δα μο[να]ρχε[ῖν] Ἄργει [,, ,,] Ἄργους
θέμενος οἰ[ω]νοπόλον γέρας.
ἰὴ ἰὴ ὦ ἰεπα[ιάν.]

στρ. β′ τὸ δὲ οἴκοθε[ν] ἄστυ κα[ὶ ἄλικες
καὶ συγγένει' ἀνδρὶ φ[ίλ' ὥστε καὶ
στέρξαι· ματ[αί]ων δὲ [μάκαρ ἀνδρῶν
ἑκὰς ἐόντων λόγο[ν ἄν]ακτος Εὐξαν[τίου
ἐπαίνεσ', ἀ[λίκ]ων μαιομένων ὃς ἀνα[ίνετο

αὐταρχεῖν, πολίων δ' ἑκατὸν πεδέχει[ν
μέρος ἕβδομον Πασιφ[ά]ας υἱ[οῖ]- καινωσ[
πει ο[. . . .] . . [.]ιφ . [
σι⟨ν⟩· τέρας δ' ἐὸν εἶ-
πέν σφι· τρέω τοι πόλεμον
Διὸς Ἐννοσίδαν τε βαρ[ύ]κτυπον.

ἀντ. β′ χθόνα τοί ποτε καὶ στρατὸν ἀθρόον
πέμψαν κεραυνῷ τριόδοντί τε
ἐς τὸν βαθὺν Τάρταρον, ἐμὰν μα-
τέρα λιπόντες καὶ ὅλον οἶκον εὐερκέα·
ἔπειτα πλούτου πειρῶν μακάρων τ' ἐπιχώριον
τεθμὸν π[ά]μπαν ἐρῆμον ἀπωσάμενος
μέγαν ἄλλοθι κλᾶρον ἔχω· λίαν
μοι [πῶ]ς ἔμπεδον εἶ-
η κεν; ἔα φρὴν κυπάρισ- τὴν Κρήτην ἐπεὶ πολλαὶ ἐκεῖ [κυ-
πάρισσοι γίγνονται.
σον, ἔα δὲ νομὸν περιδάϊον.

ἐπ. β′ [ἐμοὶ δ' ὀλίγον δέδοται, θάμνος δρυός· δέ]δοται θάμ[νος
θ[
53 [οὐ πενθέων δ' ἔλαχον, οὐ στασίων.] λάχο[ν

4 lines lost.

58]πέρι ζ η κεδ̣ν̣ονηρω̣

]

60]σ̣τ̣ωνευξαντιουπα̣[. . .] . τηνκεον

]ω̣ικησαν κ̣ε̣α̣ρ̣ . [. . .]

Fr. 10. . . . .]ν̣οι̣χομαι υιο τηλ̣[. .] . ο̣ονει̣τ̣[

[.]ηϊη[The rest blank.

ιη̂ϊεδ[

. . .

Col. xx (Fr. 9, Col. ii).

. . .

σ[

ι[

× ε[

σ[

κ[

. [

λ[

ι[

τ[

α̣π̣[

. δαλ̣[

συνδ̣[

[.]ηϊεδ̣[

. . .

Col. xxi (Fr. 11, Col. i).

]σ ερίπναις

11 lines lost.

]ᾱι

]

]α̣ποαθηναιων

Lines 54–7 lost = ep. 3–6.

7 [∪ – ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –] *πέρι* Ζη(νόδοτος) κεδνὸν ἦρω'.

8 [– ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ –]

60 9 [∪ – ⏑ ∪ ∪ ∪ – – – –] πινὲ]ς τῶν Εὐξαντίου πα[ίδω]ν τὴν Κίον

10 [∪ ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – κατ]ῴκησαν. κεαρ . [. . .]
ἀ]γ(τὶ τοῦ ?) οἴχομαι. υἱὸ(ς) Τηλ[. .] . ο( ) Ὀνειτ[

11 [*ἰ*]ὴ *ἰὴ* [ὦ *ἰε*παιάν.

V. [*ΕΙΣ ΔΗΛΟΝ*].

στρ. α' 1 *ἰήϊε Δ*[*άλι' Ἄπολλον·*

3 lines lost.

5 [– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –]

6 σ[– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –

στρ. β' 1 *ἰ*[*ήϊε Δάλι' Ἄπολλον·*

2 ε̃[∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –

3 σ[– ∪ – – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –

10 4 κ[– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –

5 [– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –]

6 λ[– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –

στρ. γ' 1 *ἰ*[*ήϊε Δάλι' Ἄπολλον·*

2 τ[– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –

15 3 ⟨[– ∪ – – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –]⟩

4 ᾱπ[∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –

5 *Δα*λ[∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –

6 *σὺν* δ[∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –

στρ. δ' 1 [*ἰ*]*ήϊε Δ*[*άλι' Ἄπολλον·*

20 2 [– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –]

3 [– ∪ – – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –]ʂ ἐρίπναις.

Lines 22–32 = str. δ' 4–6, str. ε' 1–6, str. ϛ' 1–2.

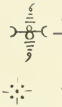
στρ. ϛ' 3 [– ∪ – – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –]α̣

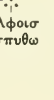
4 [– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –]

35 6 [– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ *Εὔ-*] ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων
].

Col. xxii (Fr. 11, Col. ii).

βοιανε̆λονκαιένασσαν·
ιηϊεδαλιαπολλον
καισποραδασφὲρεμήλουσ η πολυμ·α·λουσ
εκτισαννασουσ·ερικυδέατ᾽εσχον
δαλονεπεισφιναπολλων
δωκενοχρυσοκομασ
αστεριασδεμασοικειν·
ιηιεδαλιαπολλον
× λατοοσένθάμεπαιδεσ
ευμενεῖδεξασθενοωιθεραποντα πανδωρουερεχ αικλον
υμετερονκελαδεννᾶι
συνμὲλιγᾱ́ρυϊπαι
ᾶνοσαγακλεοσομφᾱῖ· . [. .] . [. . .]σ̣τ̣ι̣ρ̣ο̣ν̣ι̣





προσολυμπιουδιοσσεχρυ[. .]ᾱ
δελφοισ εισπυθω κλυτομαντιπυθοι
λισσομαιχαρίτεσ

Col. xxiii (Fr. 11, Col. iii). Plate I.

σιτεκαισυναφροδίτᾱι
ενζαθεωιμεδεξαιχρονωι
ω
× αοιδιμ·ο·νπιεριδωνπροφαταν·
υδατιγαρεπιχαλκοπυλωι επειδιαχαλκωνλεοντω̣ν̣χα[
τιωνρειεισαυτ᾽οκηφισοσ[
ψοφοναϊωνκασταλίᾱσ τονεπιτωιχαλκοπυλωι[.]δ̣α̣τ̣ι̣
ορφανονανδρωνχορέυσιοσηλθον ψοφον
[.]η·
× ἔταισαμαχανιανα̣[.]έξων αεξων
τεοισινεμαιστετιμ̣[.]ισ· κατακοιν̣[.]υεμαιστιμ̣ελεξενμεντ̣ιναδη λονοτιεντιμοσω
ἤτοριδεφιλωιπαισἄτεματερικεδνᾶι
πειθομενοσκατεβᾱνστεφανων
καιθαλιᾶντρὸφοναλσοσα κλυτοναλσοσ
πολλωνοσ·τοθιλατοΐδᾱν

βοιαν ἔλον καὶ ἔνασσαν·
στρ. ζ′ ἰήϊε Δάλι᾽ Ἄπολλον·
καὶ σποράδας φερεμήλους πολυμάλους (-μήλους).
ἔκτισαν νάσους ἐρικυδέα τ᾽ ἔσχον
Δᾶλον, ἐπεί σφιν Ἀπόλλων
δῶκεν ὁ χρυσοκόμας
Ἀστερίας δέμας οἰκεῖν·
στρ. η′ ἰήϊε Δάλι᾽ Ἄπολλον·
Λατόος ἔνθα με παῖδες
εὐμενεῖ δέξασθε νόῳ θεράποντα Πανδώρου Ἐρεχ(θέος) αἶκλον.
ὑμέτερον κελαδεννᾷ
σὺν μελιγάρυι παι-
ἄνος ἀγακλέος ὀμφᾷ. .[..].[...]στιρονι

VI. ΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΠΥΘΩ.

στρ. α′ Πρὸς Ὀλυμπίου Διός σε, χρυ[σέ]α
κλυτόμαντι Πυθοῖ,
λίσσομαι Χαρίτεσ-
σί⟨ν⟩ τε καὶ σὺν Ἀφροδίτᾳ,
ἐν ζαθέῳ με δέξαι χρόνῳ
ἀοιδίμων Πιερίδων προφάταν.
ὕδατι γὰρ ἐπὶ χαλκοπύλῳ ἐπεὶ διὰ χαλκῶν λεόντων χα͡σματίων ῥεῖ εἰς αὐτ⟨ὴ⟩ν ὁ Κηφισός.
ψόφον ἀΐων Κασταλίας τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ χαλκοπύλῳ [ὕ]δατι
ὀρφανὸν ἀνδρῶν χορεύσιος ἦλθον ψόφον.
[ρ]η
ἔταις ἀμαχανίαν ἀ[λ]έξων ἀέξων.
τεοῖσιν ἐμαῖς τε τιμ[α]ῖς· κατὰ κοιν[ο]ὺ ἐμαῖς τιμ⟨αῖς⟩. ἔλεξεν μέντ⟨οι⟩ ἵνα δηλονότι ἔντιμος ὦ.
ἤτορι δὲ φίλῳ παῖς ἄτε ματέρι κεδνᾷ
πειθόμενος κατέβαν στεφάνων
καὶ θαλιᾶν τροφὸν ἄλσος Ἀ- κλυτὸν ἄλσος.
πόλλωνος, τόθι Λατοΐδαν

θᾶμῖναδελφωνκορᾶιχθονοσομφαλον
παρασκιοεντα̣μελπ̣[.]μεναι[ ]
ποδικροτεῖ[. . . . . .]ι̣ [ ]

Col. xxiv lost.

(Line 30 had a cross in the left margin.)

Col. xxv (Fr. 12, Col. i).

Opposite ll. 52–3.
]τασθεασ
]. εισ̣α̣παν
]ṣθεασε̣̣ποσ
]

Opposite ll. 58–9.
]ν
]ρονωι
]α̣γῃ

Opposite l. 62.
]σχον

Col. xxvi (Fr. 12, Col. ii).

καιποθεναθαν[. . . . . .]ρ̣ξατο̣[
× ταυταθεοισι[.]εν
× πιθεινσοφον[.]δ̣υ̣νατο̣ν[.]· πι[
βροτοισιδαμαχανο[. . .]ρεμεν
αλλαπαρθενοιγαρισο̣ν̣[.]μο[.]σα
παντακε[. . .]νεφεῖσυν [.η.]ελα[
πατριμναμοσ[. .]α̣ιτε
τουτονεσχε̣ι̣[. . . .]μον
κλῦτένῦν·έρα[. . .]δεμο[.]
ζ̄α[. .]ο̣ι̣ . [. . . . .] .
γλωσσαμελιτοσα̣ω̣τονγλυκυν[ ] ἄαωτου
αγωναλοξιᾱικαταβαντ᾽ευρυν[
ενθεῶνξενιαι·
θῦεταιγαραγλαᾶσὺπερπανελ [. . . . .] . [. . .]ητ . τ̣ηνελλαδα
λαδοσᾰ̈ντεδελφων [. . . . .]περιε[.]ετηριασ
εθ[.]οσευξατολῖ [ ] . . . . .]α̣γα̣σκαιμεχρι
. . . . .]εκαστ[.]υετουσ

Col. xxvii (Fr. 12, Col. iii, with Fr. 13).

μουσ[
ευδ[
φιλε[
κρον[

16 θαμινὰ Δελφῶν κόραι χθονὸς ὀμφαλὸν
17 παρὰ σκιόεντα μελπ[ό]μεναι
18 ποδὶ κροτέο[ντι γᾶν θοῷ]

Lines 19–49 lost = str. 19–21, antistr. 1–21, ep. 1–7.

Scholia on Col. xxv.

] τὰς θεὰς]ν ἔ]σχον
]. εἰς ἅπαν 5]ρονῳ
τὰ]ς θεὰς ἔπος]ανη

ἐπ. α′ 8 καὶ πόθεν ἀθαν[ατ – ∪ ∪ ἄ]ρξατο.
9 ταῦτα θεοῖσι [μ]ὲν
10 πιθεῖν σοφοὺ[ς] δυνατόν, π[θεῖν.
11 βροτοῖσι⟨ν⟩ δ' ἀμάχανο[ν εὑ]ρέμεν·
12 ἀλλὰ παρθένοι γὰρ ἴσον ⟨γε ν⟩[έ]μο[ι]σαι
13 πάντα κε[λαι]νεφεῖ σὺν [Ζ]η(νόδοτος) [κ]ελα[ινεφές.
14 πατρὶ Μναμοσ[ύν]ᾳ τε
15 τοῦτον ἔσχετ[ε τεθ]μόν,
16 κλυτέ νυν· ἔρα[ται] δέ μο[ι] Ζ(ηνόδοτος) ἄ[ατ]ον . [. . . . .] .
17 γλῶσσα μέλιτος ἄωτον γλυκὺν [προχέειν εἰς] ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) ἀώτου.
18 ἀγῶνα Λοξία{ι} καταβάντ' εὐρὺν
19 ἐν θεῶν ξενίᾳ.

στρ. β′ 1 θύεται γὰρ ἀγλαᾶς ὑπὲρ Πανελ- [. . . . .] . [. . .]ητ . τὴν Ἑλλάδα
2 λάδος ἄντε Δελφῶν [. . . . .] περὶ ε[ὐ]ετηρίας
3 ἔθ[ν]ος εὔξατο λι- [. . . . .]αν ἃς καὶ μέχρι
[τοῦ νῦν? . . . . .] ἑκάστ[ο]υ ἔτους
[ ]

4 μοῦ σ[∪ – ∪ – ∪ – –
5 ευδ[∪ ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ –
6 φιλε[∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏑
7 Κρόν[ιε ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –

πρυτα̣[
τοιπα[
χρησ[.]η̣[
θωνο̣θ̣[
καιποτε[Fr. 13, Col. i.
πανθοο[ ]ε̣ι
ὁι
δεστρωια[
ηνεγκε[
δεαπαισ[
ονεμβα[
παρ[.]οσὲ[

Col. xxviii (Fr. 13, Col. ii).

σιωιδεμαϊθεοσ·
·ου·
ιλιωιδεθηκεναφαρ
οψιτεραναλωσιν
κυανοπλόκοιοπαιδαποντιασ·κυα[.]οκομοιο·
θετιδ̣οσβιατᾱν
πιστονερκοσαχαι
ωνθρασεῖφονωιπεδασαις·
× όσσάτ'ερῐξελευκωλενωι α̣ρριστοστ̊εριζω
ακναμπτονηρᾱιμενοσ̆ἄν[.]ερειδων·
οσατεπολιαδι·προπονων α̣ν̣ο̣σ̣σα
δέκεμεγαλωνδαρδανιαν
επραθενειμηφυλασσεναπο[.]λ[.]ν·
νεφεσιδεχ̣ρυσεοισολυμποι
οκαικορυφα[. . .]νἰζων
μόρσιμ'ἄνα[.]ύ̣ενζευσοθεωνσκοποσουτολ

Col. xxix (Fr. 13, Col. iii).

μα·πὲριδυψικόμω[. .]λ̣ενᾱι
χρῆνἄραπεργαμονευρυ[.]ι̣
ἴστῶσαισελασαιθομενοσ̣
πυροσ·επειδαλκιμοννεκυν[.]ν̣τα̣[

8 πρύτα[νι ∪ – – ∪ ∪ –
9 τοι πᾰ̈[∪ – – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –
10 χρησ[τ]η[ρι – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – –
11 [Πυ]θωνόθ[ε̆ν – ∪ – –
12 καί ποτε [∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –
13 Πάνθοῦ[ς – Δαναῶν ὅτε παῖ-]ει
14 δες Τρωΐα[∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪
15 ἤνεγκε̆[∪ ∪ – Διομή-
16 δεα πάϊς [Ζηνὸς – ∪ ∪ – ∪ –
17 δν ἐμβα[λὼν ἰὸν ἔσχε μάχας
18 Πάρ[ι]ος ἑ[καβόλος βροτη-

19 σίῳ δέμαϊ θεός·
20 Ἰλίου δὲ θῆκεν ἄφαρ
21 ὀψιτέραν ἄλωσιν,

ἀντ. β′ 1 κυανοπλόκοιο παῖδα ποντίας κυα[ν]οκόμοιο.
2 Θέτιος βιατὰν
3 πιστὸν ἔρκος Ἀχαι-
4 ῶν θρασεῖ φόνῳ πεδάσαις·
5 ὅσσα τ᾽ ἔριξε λευκωλένῳ ἀόριστος το(ῦ) ἐρίζω.
6 ἄκναμπτον Ἥρᾳ μένος ἀν[τ]ερείδων
7 ὅσα τε Πολιάδι· πρὸ πόνων Ἀ(ριστοφά)ν(ης?) ὅσσα.
8 δέ κε μεγάλων Δαρδανίαν
9 ἔπραθ⟨ο⟩ν, εἰ μὴ φύλασσεν Ἀπό[λ]λ[ω]ν·
10 νέφεσ⟨σ⟩ι δὲ χρυσέοις Ὀλύμποι-
11 ο καὶ κορυφα[ῖσι]ν ἴζων
12 μόρσιμ᾽ ἀνα[λ]ύεν Ζεὺς ὁ θεῶν σκοπὸς οὐ τόλ-

13 μα· περὶ δ᾽ ὑψικόμῳ [Ἑ]λένᾳ
14 χρῆν ἄρα Πέργαμον εὐρὺ [δ]ι-
15 ⟨ᾳ⟩στῶσαι σέλας αἰθομένο⟨υ⟩
16 πυρός· ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἄλκιμον νέκυν [ἐ]ν τά[φῳ

πολυστονωιθεντοπηλεϊδα . . [
αλοσεπικυμαβαντεσ[.]λ
θοναγγελο[.]οπισω
σκυροθενν[.]οπτολεμ[
ευρυβιαναγοντεσ·
οσδιεπερσενιλιουπολ[
αλλόυτεματέρεπειτα[.]εδναν[. . . .]
έϊδενόυτεπατρωϊο[.]σεναρο[. . . . . .]
ιπποπυσμυρμιδονων
χαλκοκορυ[. .]ᾱν[.]μιλονεγε[. . . . .]
σχεδονδ[. . .]μαρυμολοσσιδαγα[.]αν
εξίκετ'·ουδ[.]νεμουσε[. . .]εν

[. . . . .]αιγ[. . . . .]ισ
[. . . . . .]σαϛα[. . .] .
[. . . . . .]προσ[.] . . ν
[[. . . . . .] . νο . [.] . και[ ]]
[[. . . . . .] . αρ[.] . [.]. [ ]]
[[. . . . . .]προσ[.] .]]

Col. xxx (Fr. 13, Col. iv).

ουδετον[.]υρυφαρέτρᾰνεκαβολον·
ω[. .]σε[. . . .]εοσ·
γε[. . .]ν[. .]πριαμον
π[.]οσερκεῖονἤναρεβωμονε
.ν.
[. . .]θορονται·μημινέυφρον'εσοι[.]ον
[.]ητεπιγηρασίξέ
μενβιου·[.]μφιπολοισδε
[.]υρ[. .]περιτιμᾶν ζπυθιαν ητοιτωνκ[.]εωνηδιαρπαζοντωνσυνη θωστωνα[. . .]ωνεδυσχεραινεκαιεκωλυε[
[. . . .]αζομενονκτανεῖν ζκτανεμενγ[. . . .]έν διοκαιανηιρηται
[. . . .]νειφιλωιγᾶσπαρομφαλονευρυν· τωνχρηματωναδιαρπαζων εισεκδικιαντουπατροσανηιρεθη
[. . . .]νῦνμετραπαιηο γηιτε
[.]ωνιῆ[. .]νεο[.]· γ[.]ηητενεοι
[. . .]μακλύτᾱγένεσσιδωριει
μ[.]δεοισα[. .]ντω[.] εντωι . [. .] . . πρ[. . . . .]ψφερεται
νασοσ[.]διοσελ ιερονδιοσελ[.]ηνιου[.]γαι[.]ινηιοπουσυνελθοντεσ[ευξα[.]τοπεριτουαυχμου

Col. xxxi (Fr. 13, Col. v, with Fr. 14).

λανιουφαεννοναστρον·
ουνεκενόυσεπαιηονων

17 πολυστόνῳ θέντο Πηλείδα,
18 ἀλὸς ἐπὶ κῦμα βάντες [ἦ]λ-
19 θον ἄγγελο[ι] ὀπίσω
20 Σκυρόθεν Ν[ε]οπτόλεμ[ον
21 εὐρυβίαν ἄγοντες,
ἐπ. β′ 1 ὃς διέπερσεν Ἰλίου πόλ[ιν·
2 ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε ματέρ᾽ ἔπειτα [κ]εδνὰν
3 ἴϊδεν, οὔτε πατρωΐο[ι]ς ἐν ἀρο[ύραις
4 ἵππους Μυρμιδόνων
5 χαλκοκορυ[στ]ὰν [ὅ]μιλον ἔγε[ιρε. [. . . . .]αιγ[. . . . .]ις
6 σχεδὸν δ[ὲ Το]μάρου Μολοσσίδα γα[ῖ]αν [. . . . .]σασα[. .] .
[. . . . .]προσ[.] . . ν
7 ἐξίκετ᾽, οὐδ[᾽ ἀ]νέμους ἕ[λαθ]εν

8 οὐδὲ τὸν [ε]ὐρυφαρέτραν ἑκαβόλον·
9 ὤ[μο]σε[ν δὲ θ]εός·
10 γε[ραιὸ]ν [ὃς] Πρίαμον
11 π[ρ]ὸς ἑρκεῖον ἦναρε βωμὸν ἑ-
12 [πεν]θορόντα, μή μιν ἐΰφρον᾽ ἐς οἶ[μ]ον
13 [μ]ήτ᾽ ἐπὶ γῆρας ἰξέ-
14 μεν βίου· [ἀ]μφιπόλοις δὲ
15 [μ](οι)ρ[ιᾶν] περὶ τιμᾶν Ζ(ηνόδοτος) Πυθιᾶν. ἤτοι τῶν κ[ρ]εῶν ἢ διαρπαζόντων συνήθως τῶν ἀ[λλ]ων ἐδυσχέραινε καὶ ἐκώλυε
16 [δηρι]αζόμενον κτάν(ε)ν Ζ(ηνόδοτος) κτάνε⟨ν⟩ ἐν· γρ(άφεται) [κταν]έν. διὸ καὶ ἀνῃρῆται ἢ
17 [(ἐν) τεμέ]νεϊ φίλῳ γᾶς παρ᾽ ὀμφαλὸν εὐρύν. τῶν χρημάτων ἃ διαρπάζων εἰς ἐκδικίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνῃρέθη.
18 [ἰ]ὴ ⟨ἰὴ⟩ τε] νῦν μέτρα παιηό- γρ(άφεται) ἰὴ ἰὴ τε.
19 [ν]ων, ἰὴ [τε] νέο[ι.] γρ(άφεται) [ἰ]ὴ ἰὴ τε νέοι.
στρ. γ′ 1 [ὀνο]μακλύτα γ᾽ ἔνεσσι Δωριεῖ
2 μ[ε]δέοισα [πό]ντῳ ἐν τῷ . [. .] . . πρ[. . . . .]ν φέρεται.
3 νᾶσος, [ὦ] Διὸς Ἑλ- ἱερὸν Διὸς Ἑλ[λ]ηνίου [ἐ]ν Αἰ[γ]ίνῃ ὅπου συνελθόντες εὔξα[ν]το περὶ τοῦ αὐχμοῦ.

4 λανίου φαεννὸν ἄστρον.
5 οὕνεκεν οὔ σε παιηόνων

Fr. 14, Col. i.

ἁδορπονευναξομεν·αλλαοιδᾶν
ῥόθιᾰδεχομένακατερεισ ῥδε[ ]
ητ[18 letters]ην
πόθενελαβεσναὶπρύτανιν απ[,, ,,]ντινεσ
δαιμονακαιτανθὲμίξενοναρετ[ ] ,, ,,]στινα
17 ,,]λοποιει
οπάντάτοιτατεκαιτατευχων
.o.
σονεγγυαλιξενολβον
ευρύο[. .]κρονουπαισ·υδατιδ̓[.]παῳ[11 letters]ατριβου
]θυρωνελ̣
πούπ[. . .]ποπροθυρωνβαθυκολ [,, ,,]ο
πονᾳ̣[.] . ρεψατοπαρθενον
> αιγιν̣ᾳ̣ν·τοτεχρῡσεᾰια
> ερουσεκρυψατανκομ̣[.̆]ιεπιχωριον[
κατάσκιοννωτονυμετερον· τ[
> ιναλεχεωνεπαμβροτων [

Col. xxxii (Fr. 14, Col. ii).

[
αισ̣[
μν̣[
τολ̣[
διο[
πε[
πο[
πα[
ξε[
κὺ[
ξα[
νο̣[
τρ[
σθ̣[
ζη[

Col. xxxiii lost.

Col. xxxiv (Fr. 15, Col. i).

[. . . . .]χο[. . . .]ενοσ πὺινᾶ
[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . .]

6 ἄδορπον εὐνάξομεν, ἀλλ' ἀοιδᾶν

7 ῥόθια δεχομένα κατερεῖς ὁδε[ ]

ἤτ[οι ? 16 letters]ην
ἀπ[18 „]ν τινες
9 δαίμονα καὶ τὰν θεμίξενον ἀρετ[άν. ·[18 „]s τινα
13 „ ? εἰδω]λοποιεῖ

10 ὁ πάντα τοι τά τε καὶ τὰ τεύχων

11 σὸν ἐγγυάλιξεν ὄλβον

12 εὐρύο[πα] *Κρόνου παῖς, ὑδάτ⟨εσσ⟩ι δ' [ἐ]π' Ἀσ[ω-* τὴν Αἴγιναν δι]ατρίβου-
[σαν ἐπὶ τῶν προ]θύρων ἐλ-
[θὼν ἀπεσπάσατ]ο.

13 ποῦ π[οτ' ἀ]πὸ προθύρων βαθύκολ-

14 πον ἀ[να]ρέψατο παρθένον

15 Αἴγιναν· τότε χρύσεαι ἀ-

16 έρος ἔκρυψα{τα}ν κόμ[α]ι ἐπιχώριον

17 κατάσκιον νῶτον ὑμέτερον, τ[

18 ἵνα λεχέων ἐπ' ἀμβρότων

19 ∪ – ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ⏑

20 αισ[∪ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ ⏑

21 μν̄[∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏒

ἀντ. γ΄ 1 τὄλ[∪ – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ –

2 δι̇ο[– ∪ – –

3 πε̄[∪ – ∪ ∪ –

4 πο̄[∪ – ∪ – ∪ – ⏑

5 πᾱ[∪ ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ –

6 ξε̄[– ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – –

7 κν̆[∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –

8 ξᾰ[∪ ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ –

9 νο̄[∪ ∪ – – ∪ – ∪ ∪ ⏑⏑ ⏑

10 τρ[⏑ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – –

11 σθ[∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – ⏑

12 ζη[∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –

Lines 156–171 lost = antistr. 13–21, ep. 1–7.

ἐπ. γ΄ 8 [– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪]χᾰ̄[–]ενος ποινά.

9 [– ∪ – ∪ ∪ –]

10 [∪ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ –]

.τ.
[. . . . .]νγεδε̣
[. . . . .]έιρονασαρετασ
[. . . . .] προστακτικωσ
[. . . . .]τρωϊαν·φι
[. . . . .]α̣λαον
[. . . . .]νοισιπαν στεφανοισινιν . [. . .]
[. . . . .]σκιαζετε·μοισα̂ν αρνὸς[οι.τ̣[
[. . . . .]πολλακι·παιᾶνδέ
[. . . . .]α̂ν τωναποτῳνε̣ . [.] . κ̣ων ζηειλιομαν

εσ
[. . . . .]ντεθεσπιωνδοτ[
[. . . . .] επεσ[.]
[. . . . .]ο̣ν[. .]λ̣αάντεσαυλαν [9 letters]ῳστοναγ . ι̣ῳ . [

Col. xxxv (Fr. 15, Col. ii).

× . [

2 lines lost.

[. . . .]ειφιλ̣α̣[
[. . . .]ν̣δέ . . [
[. . . . .]μπα̣[
[. . . . .]α̣γχιθ[
[. . .]τ̣α̣υλοναιθερ[
[. . . . .]ε̣'ανκορυφαν̣[
[. .]ν̣ε̣ρονλεγομεν[
[. . . .]αταυρωνε̣̣ι̣[
[. . . . .]νπροβωμ[
[. . . . .]οιτ[.]τ̣ . μο[. . . .]π̣αρο̣[
[. . . . .]δησαναυδαν·
[. .]αι·τέσ̣ιχρησ̣τηριον

B. Fr. 16.

[. . . . .]α̣ι·
[. . . . .]ο̣̣σ
[. . . . .]ρ̣αν

.τ.

11 [⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –]ν γε δε-
12 [– ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ἀπ]είρονας ἀρετὰ!
13 [– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏒] προστακτικῶς.
14 [– ⏒⏒ πα]τρωΐαν· φι-
15 [λ – ⏑ – ⏑]α λαὸν
16 [– ⏑ – στεφά]νοισι πᾶν στεφάνοισί νιν . [. . .]
17 [– ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – –]σκιάζετε· *Μοισᾶν* Ἀρ(ιστοφά)ν(ης ?) «[
οιτ[
18 [⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑] πολλάκι· παιὰν δέ
19 [– ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑]ᾶν. τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ε . [.] . κων.
Ζη(νόδοτος) εἰλιομαν.

VII.

[. . . . . .]ν τε θεσπεσίων δότ[ειραι (?)
[. . . . . .] ἔπεσ[ι.]
[. . . . . .]ον [ἀγ]λαάν τ' ἐς αὐλὰν [9 letters]ως τὸν αν . ιο . [

. [

2 lines lost.

[. . . .]ει φιλα[
[. . . .]ν δέ . . [
[. . . . .]μπα[
10 [. . . . .] ἀγχιθ[ε
[. . .]ταυλον αἰθερ[
[. . . . .]ε' ἂν κορυφὰν [
[φα]νερὸν λεγομεν[
[. . . .]α ταύρων ει[
15 [. . . . . .]ν πρὸ βωμ[οῦ (?)
[. . . . . .]οιτ[.]τ . μο[. . . .]παρο[
[. . . . . κελά]δησαν αὐδάν·
[εὐ]αντέσι χρηστήριον

Fr. 16.

[. . . . . .]αι
[. . . . . .]ος
[. . . . . .]ραν

[. . . . . .]χ̣ων
5 [. . . . . .]νουσ κελαδησαθυμνουσ
[. . . . . .]π̣π̣ον . [.] . αμαξιτον
[. . . . . .] . σ̣υριαισανιπποι̣[.]·
[. . . . . .]τ̣ᾱνοναρμα
[. . . . . .]ο̣ν·
10 [. . . . . .]δουρ̣α̣ν̣ουτευπεπλωιθυγατρι
μναμ̣[.]συ[.]αικορα[.]σίτευ
μαχανιανδιδόμεν·
[.]υφλ̣α̣[. . .]ρανδρωνφρ̣ε̣ν̣ε̣σ
[.]στισανευθελικωνιαδων
15 βαθειανελ̣θ̣[. .]τ̣ωνερευ[. .]ῑ[.]οφιαισοδον·
εμ̣ο̣ι̣δ̣ετουτο̣[. .]ι̣εδω
.ν.
[. . . .]αθανατ̣[.]νπορον

Two fragments from Fr. 16 (?).

Fr. 17. . . .
ομηρου[
ῐόντεσα̣[
επειδ̣α̣[
. . [
. . .

Fr. 18. . . .
] . οισ̣[
. . .

Fr. 19, Col. i.

]
] δέλτο̣υ̣
]
]ε̣ισ̣ σ̄
5]
]
]
]
] . . α̣τ̣[.]α̣υ̣τ̣ό
10]π̣ . . εσθ̣α[.] λεχο̣σ̣επιτηνλοχειαν
]

[. . . . . .]χων
[. . . . . ὕμ]νους κελαδήσαθ' ὕμνους.
[. . . . . ι]ππον . [.] . ἀμαξιτὸν
[. . . . .] . Συρίαις ἀν' ἵπποι[ς]·
[. . . . . π]τανὸν ἅρμα
[. . . . . .]ον·
[. . . . . .] δ' Οὐρανοῦ τ' εὐπέπλῳ θυγατρὶ
Μναμ[ο]σύ[ν]ᾳ κόρα[ι]σί τ' εὐ-
μαχανίαν διδόμεν.
[τ]υφλα[ὶ γὰ]ρ ἀνδρῶν φρένες
[ὅ]στις ἄνευθ' Ἑλικωνιάδων
βαθεῖαν ἐλθ[όν]των ἐρευν[ᾷ σ]οφίαις ὁδόν·
ἀντ. or ἐπ. ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτο[ν δ]ιέδω-
[καν] ἀθάνατ[ο]ν πόνον

Fr. 17. . . .
Ὁμήρου [
ἰόντες α[
ἐπεὶ δα[
. . [
. . .

Fr. 19.
]
] δέλτου.
]
] εἰς σ̄.
]
]
]
]
] . . ατ[.]αυτό-
]π . . έσθα[ι] λέχος ἐπὶ τὴν λοχείαν.
]

α
]ωτονεκ̣α̣έρ
]
]
]

Fr. 19, Col. ii, with Fr. 20.

]ονλεγειαπ[.]ρια[
]λ̣ην
]ν̣ουσ
]ο̣ν̣έσσατο̣[
έδο̣[
α[
δ̣[
[. . . . .]α̣[
θ
[.]υνᾱσ·τίπεισομα[
ηδιοσουκεθελο̣[
κοιουθυγατηρπ[
απιστάμ̣[.]ιδεδο[.]κα̣κ̣α̣ . [
ν α.
δεμινενπελ̣[.]γ̣ε̣[
ν.
ριφθεῖσανευαγεαπετρανφανηναι[. .]α̣υ̣α̣γε̣[
καλ[.]οντιμινορτυγιανναῦταιπαλαι·
πεφορητοδ̓ επ̓ αιγαίονθαμά·
τᾶσοκρατιστοσ καρτισ̣τοσ·
ερασσατομ̣ιχθεισ
τοξοφόροντελεσαιγονον·

Fr. 21. . . . . .
]τρ̣[
]...[
]
]. ω̣ν·
]
]. [ ]
]. ντελοσ̣[. .]ται· αμα̣[. . .]εσσεται·
]υχᾱισυ[. .]. νον
]π̣εραινοισ
]ι̣ν̣α̣ποκαιπατροσ·υμ

a
]ωτον ἑκαέρ-
γ]
]
]

ἕδο[ ]ον λέγει ἀπ[ο]ρία
]λην
α[ ]νους
ᾳ[ ]ο ἔσσατο [
[. . . . .]α[
[ϵ]ὐνᾶς· τί πείσομα[ι . . .
ἦ Διὸς οὐκ ἐθέλο[ισα . . .
Κοίου θυγάτηρ π[
ἄπιστά μ[ο]ι δέδο[ι]κα κα . [
δέ μιν ἐν πελ[ά]γε[ι . . .
ῥιφθεῖσαν εὐαυγέα πέτραν φανῆναι· [? ν]αυαγε[
καλ[έ]οντί μιν Ὀρτυγίαν ναῦται πάλαι.
πεφόρητο δ' ἐπ' Αἰγαῖον θαμά·
τᾶς ὁ κράτιστος κάρτιστος
ἐράσσατο μιχθεὶς
τοξοφόρον τελέσαι γόνον·

Fr. 21. . . . . .
]τρ[
]. . [
]
]. ων·
]
]. [ ]
]. ν τέλος [ἔσ]ται· αμα[. . . .] ἔσσεται
τ]ύχᾳ συ[. .] . νον
] περαίνοις
]ν ἀπὸ καὶ πατρός· ὑμ-(ν . .)

Fr. 22. . . .
]. . .
]ν̣
]σ̣ὶσῆ̣ι̣ἔπε̣[
]
]
. . .

Fr. 23. . .
]μ̣[
]π̣[
. .

Fr. 24. . . .
]. . . μ̣ . ν̣ . [
]
. . . .

Fr. 25. . . .
]
]
]
]
]α̣ . [
. . .

Miscellaneous unplaced fragments.

Fr. 26. . . . .
[. . . . . .]μ̣[.] . [
[. . . . . .] . ντενει[
[.]π̣π̣ι̣ο̣σ̣ειχεαμφι̣ . .[
τ̣ι̣π̣αρθ[.]νωισυνπολ̣[
5 χε̣ . . ε[.]ι̣ν̣ὴ . ἐ̣ϊθ̣ή̣ρμ[
κρο̣[.]ι̣ονδ̣ωμ̣ ἀγλ̣αο[
[. . . . .]ι̣σεπισμην̣ι̣α[
[. . .]ο̣λω[. .]α̣[.]ι̣τρ[
[. . . .]μ̣α̣ντισαυ̣ . [
10 [. . . .] . [. .]υμηδε̣[
[. . . . . .]ι̣[.]υ̣μ̣ε[
[. . . . . .]μ̣φορο[

Fr. 27 (to Fr. 26?). . . .
]μ̣[
]μάτρω̣[
]οσ̣τ̣α̣[
. . .

Beginnings of lines.

Fr. 28. . . . .
. [.]ε̣σ̣[
ωβαθ̣υ̣δ̣[
ιηιεπαιμε[
δαμοναθα̣[
. . . .

Fr. 29. . .
ε̣[
. [
. .

Fr. 30. . .
μ̣[
. [
. .

Fr. 31. . .
ε̣μ̣[
γ̣ο̣[
ε̣[
. . .

Fr. 32. . .
ξια[
. .

Fr. 22. . . . .
]. . .
]ν
]ς ἰσῇ ἔπε[
]
]
. . . .

Fr. 26. . . . . .
[. . . . . .]μ[.] . [
[. . . . . .] . ντενει[
[ἴ]ππιος εἶχ' ἀμφι . . [
τι παρθ[έ]νῳ σὺν πολ[
χε . . ε[.]ι νηλέϊ θὴρ μ[
Κρό[ν]ιον δῶμ' ἀγλαο[
[. . . . .]ις ἐπ' Ἰσμηνία[ις
[. . .]ολω[. .]α[.]ιτρ[
[. . . .] μάντις αὐ . [
[. . . .] . [. .]ν μηδε[
[. . . . . .]ι[.]νμε[
[. . . . συ]μφορο[

Fr. 27. . . . .
]μ[
] μάτρω[
]οστα[
. . . .

Fr. 28. . . . . .
. [.]εσ[
ὦ βαθυδ[οξ (?)
ἰήϊε παῖ με[
δᾶμον Ἀθα[να
. . . . .

Ends of lines.

Fr. 33.
. . . . . .
]α . [. .]
]ασσαμφ[. . .]βακεν[
]πολιον
]σο[.] . ιασνεμελατο[
]αλμαι
]νων
] . ινεπε[.] . νει[
]
]
]
. . . . . .

Fr. 34.
. .
]
]οι
. .

Fr. 35.
. . .
]ειδεατ[
]ν·
. . .

Fr. 36.
. .
]
]
]
]ασ
. .

Fr. 37.
. .
] . [
].
]ον
]
. .

Fr. 38.
. . .
]
]σι
]λαναζ[
. . .

Fragments having blank margin above.

Fr. 39.
]χέ[
]τα . [
. . .

Fr. 40.
]κουφ[
. . .

Fr. 41.
]απον[
. . .

Fr. 42.
]ῦδ̣ . . λει[
. . .

Fr. 43.
]εδ[
. . .

Fr. 44.
]ρισ . [
. . .

Fragment having blank margin below.

Fr. 45.
. .
] . φ[
]νσδ[

Fr. 33. . . . . .
]α . [. .]
]ασσ' ἀμφ[ιβέ]βακεν [
] πολιὸν
]σο[.] . ιας νέμε Λατο[ίδας (?)
] ἄλμᾳ
]νων
] . ινεπε[.] . νει[

Fr. 35. . . .
] εἴδεα τ[
]ν·
. . . .

Fr. 46. . . . .
]π̣ι̣[
]μ̣β̣ρ̣ο̣σ̣ι̣ᾱ[
ωινο̣[
]ανθεμωνβα̣[
]ο̣κε̣λ̣η̣σιον . [
]ο̣υν· ὁ[
]ε̣πρι[
. . . .

Fr. 47. . . .
]υ̣[
]δαλι̣ο̣[
]υζω̣ . [
]ι̣[
. . .

Fr. 48. . . .
] . [
]μ̣ακαρων[
σ̣[
]αφορίᾱν̣[
. . .

Fr. 49. . . .
]σφρασ̣[
]δ̣οξαν[
. . .

Fr. 50. . .
]ων[
]α̣νι[
. .

Fr. 51. . . .
]η̣ι̣[
]μ̣ε̣σ̣[
]α̣π[
. . .

Fr. 52. . .
]ν̣[
]α̣ν̣[
]τ̣[
. .

Fr. 53. . .
]σ̣η̣[
]π̣[
]τ̣ . [
. .

Fr. 54. . . .
]διτ[
ο̣ι
]ἀγηδ̣ι̣[
. . .

Fr. 55. . . .
]π̣λακ̣ο̣ι̣[
]τ̣ονα[
. . .

Fr. 56. . . .
]ο̣[
]εσεν̣[
. . .

Fr. 57. . .
]λ[
]α̣[
. .

Fr. 58. . .
]κ[
]λ̣[
. .

Fr. 59. . . .
] . ων[
]νο[
. . .

Fr. 60. . .
]υδ[
. .

Fr. 61. . .
]α· [
]ε . [
. .

Fr. 62. . .
]ον[
. .

Fr. 63. . .
]υδε[
. .

Fr. 64. . . .
] . κταν̣[
. . .

Fr. 46. . . . . .
]πι[
ἀ]μβροσίᾱ[
ωι νο
] ἀνθέμων βα[
]ο κέλης ἰον . [
]ουν· ὁ[
]επρι[
. . . . . .

Fr. 47. . . . .
]ν[
] Δάλιο[
]νζω . [
]ι[
. . .

Fr. 48. . . . . .
] . [
] μακάρων [
s
(?) νικ]αφορίαν [
. . . . .

Fr. 49. . . . . .
]s φρασ[σ
] δόξαν [
. . . . .

Scholia.

Fr. 65. . . .
]αλε[
]μαντεια[
]υ̣[. .]ε . [
. . .

Fr. 66. . . . . .
] . [
]
]νομ̣οιγεν[.]μ̣ενοιδικ̣[
]ρμ̣[.]τα̣ι̣[.] . [. . .]α̣ρα̣[
]ο̣σε . [. . . .]ε[.]ν [
]π̣[
. . . . . .

Fr. 67. . . .
]
]ώνοι̣ .
. . .

Fr. 68. . .
]
]ξε
]ων
]
]
]
. .

Fr. 69. . .
ὅ . [
προσ[
ουμε[
· [
. .

Fr. 70. . . .
]απολογ̣ε̣[
]ο̣υκαιθ . [
]ωντου̣[
] · [
. . .

Fr. 71. . . .
] . ει . [
]ρ̣ικεσ[
]λ̣εαιω[
]σλ̣ε̣γ̣ει[
. . .

Fr. 72. . . .
]αντιο̣ν̣[
]κ̣ι̣ο̣[
. . .

Fr. 73. . . . .
]
]
]ησεισησαν[
. . . .

Fr. 74. . . .
]ο̣ιτο̣[
]φανερωσ̣[
]
. . .

Fr. 75. . .
]
]χα̣σ̣
]υ̣ι̣
]
. .

Fr. 76. . .
]α̣σ̣δι[
]. [. .] . . [
. .

Fr. 77. . .
]
]αντ̣ο̣[
]α̣[
. . .

Fr. 78. . . .
]
]ω̣ν̣ο̣ . [
]
]ε̣σ̣ι̣[
]
. . .

Fr. 79. . .
]ρα̣[
]εσ[
]
]
]
. .

Fr. 80. . . .
]
] . [.] . [. .]α̣[
]
]σ̣εχ̣[. .] .
. . .

Fr. 81. . . .
]
]παζειν[
]
. . .

Fr. 65. . . .

]αλε[
] μαντεία[
]υ[. .]ε . [
. . .

Fr. 66. . . . . .

] . [
]
]νομοι γεν[ό]μενοι δικ[
]ρμ[.]ται[.] . [. . .]αρα[
]οσε . [. . . .]ε[.]ν [
]π[
. . . . . .

Fr. 69. . . .

οὔ(τως) . [
προσ[
ουμε[
.[
. . .

Fr. 70. . . . .

] ἀπολογε[ι . .
]ου καὶ θ . [
]ων του[
] . [
. . . .

Fr. 71. . . . .

] . ει . [
]ρικεσ[
]λεαιω[
]s λέγει [
. . .

Fr. 73. . . .

]
]
]ησεις ἦσαν [
. . .

Fr. 74. . . .

]οιτο[
] φανερῶς [
]

C. Fr. 82, Col. i. Plate III.

]ησενμαντευομενωι
]ξηλθεσ̣γ[.]ν̣εηνδ[. .
]ηνοδεπινδαρ[. .]
]υτωιοθεοσηνικ̣[.] . . ι
]μ̣ε̣νοντονποτε̣ελευ
]μ̣οι
]
]πηιτειαναιρε
] . [.]υ̣πατροσ̣κ̣λ̣υ
] . . . καιο̣χρ̣η
]εψεστρατευ
]βασ
]
]
]πασ
]
]ισ
]ουε̣χρηζε
]κατεροσ
] . υ̣ . . τοεκ[.]χ̣
. . . . .

Fr. 82, Col. ii. Plate III.

[. . . . . .]σ̣το[.]τοπλ̣η̣ρεσ[
[. . .]τ̣ελ̣εσεισευθεωστοισδ[
ενυπνιονδυτελέωεπιτελε̣[
σπευδοντ·εκλαγξε̣ν̣τεϊε̣ρ̣[
δαιμονιονκεαρολοᾶι
σὶστονὰχᾰισαφαρ·
καιτοιαῖδεκορυφᾶῐσά
·ν· ·ω·
μαινελογον·ωπᾰναπ[
ρ[.]ο̣πακρονιων·τέλεὶσ̣σ̣[
π[.]πρωμενανπάθαν·α[
νικαδαρδανιδαισὲκάβ̣[
[. .]ποτ'ἐῖδενὺποσπλαγχ[
φέροισατόνδ'ᾱνερ·ε̣δο̣ξ̣[
τεκεῖνπὺρφόρονερι̣[

VIII. [*ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ*?].

Fr. 82, Col. i.

ἔχρ]ησεν μαντευομένῳ
ἐ]ξῆλθες γ[ε]νεὴν δ[. .
]ην ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρ[os]
λέγει ὅτι ἔχρησε ταῦτα α]ὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ἡνίκ[α] . . ι
]μενον τόν ποτε ἐλευ-
σόμενον (?)]μοι( )
]
ἀ]πῆτει ἀναιρε-
θέντος] . [o]υ πατρὸς Κλυ-
μένου ὑπὸ Περιήρους (?)] . . . καὶ ὁ χρη-
σμὸς προύτρ]εψε στρατεύ-
εσθαι ἐπὶ Θή]βας
]
]
]πας
]
]ις
] ου ἔχρηζε
ἑ]κάτερος
] . ν . . τὸ εκ[.]χε( ).

Fr. 82, Col. ii.

[τὸ πάθο]ς το[ῦ]το πλῆρες [. . . . . .
[ἐπι]τελέσεις εὐθέως, τοῖς δ[ὲ Τρωσὶ τὸ Ἑκάβης
ἐνύπνιον ⟨α⟩ὖ τελέω⟨ς⟩ ἐπιτελε[σθήσεται.

σπεύδοντ', ἔκλαγξέ θ' ἱερ[ώτατον
δαιμόνιον κέαρ ὀλοαῖ-
σι στοναχαῖς ἄφαρ,
καὶ τοιᾷδε κορυφᾷ σά-
μαινεν λόγων· ὦ πανάπ[ειρον εὐ-
ρ[ύ]οπα Κρονίων, τελεῖς σ[ὺ νῦν τὰν πάλαι
π[ε]πρωμέναν παθαν ἀ-
νίκα Δαρδανίδαις Ἑκάβ[α φράσεν ὄψιν (?)
[ἄν] ποτ' εἶδεν ὑπὸ σπλάγχ[νοις
φέροισα τόνδ' ἀνέρ', ἔδοξ[ε δὲ
τεκεῖν πυρφόρον Ἐρι[νὺν

γ ι
εκὰτόνχερα·σκληραῖ̣[
ιλιονπασάννινεπιπ[
κ̣ατερεῖψαι·έεῖπεδε . [
[. . . ⁝ .]ᾱιτερασυπνα̣[
ουτωσ̣α̣[
35 [. . . . .]λ̣επρομάθεια

Frs. 83 and 84.

]ε̣νω̣[
]με . [
. . .
. . δ̣[
ο̣μ̣[
5 τ̣ι̣τ̣[
κ[
δ[
λοι̣π̣[13 letters]υ̣λ̣[.] . [
σ̣ο̣[ ]
10 μεγ[. . . . . .]α̣νδεποσ αν^τ πασα̣[
κλιθει̣[.]ε̣κ̣ο[. . . . . .]σφισιν·
μαλαπρᾶξον[. .]κάιωσ·
κλυτοιμαντι[. .]απολλωνοσ· εγωχρυ^σ
[.]γωμενῦπερχθονος μηποθολογοσεκ̣τ̣[
ωκεανουθεμιδ̣ο̣σεπεικα̣[
15 [.]π̣έρτ'ωκεα[. .]υ παντασκατειρηκετουσ[

Fr. 85. . .
]σ̣κρ[
. .

Fr. 86.
]νδροσότ[
]τ̣ρ̣ηικα̣[
]οσοὺλυτ[
]περτάτᾱι̣[
5]'ου̣[
. . . .

Fr. 87. . . . . .
]ν̣ω̣σ̣[
]ανοιξαμ[.]ν̣ . [. .]
.ω.
]αντωνεργονϊερώτ[
]τ̣α[. .]έντεσ·
]
. . . . .

ἑκατόγχειρα, σκληρᾷ [δὲ βίᾳ
Ἴλιον πᾶσάν νιν ἐπὶ π[έδον
κατερεῖψαι· ἔειπε δὲ . [
[. . . . .]α τέρας ὑπνα[λέον
οὕτως α[
[. . . . .]λε προμάθεια

Frs. 83 and 84.

]ενω[
]με . [
. . .
. . δ[
ομ[
τιτ[
κ[
δ[
λοιπ[
σο[13 letters]υλ[
μεγ[. . . . . π]ᾶν δ' ἔπος αντ(ι τοῦ) πᾶσα[ν τὴν ἀλήθειαν (!)
κλιθεὶ[ς] ἐκο[ινάσατο] σφίσιν,
μάλα πρᾶξον [δι]καίως.
κλυτοὶ μάντι[ες] Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐγὼ Χρύσ(ιππος ?).
[ἐ]γὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ χθονὸς μήποθ' ὁ λόγος ἐκ τ[
ὠκεανοῦ θέμιδος ἐπεὶ κα[
[ὑ]πέρ τ' ὠκεα[νο]ῦ πάντας κατείρηκε τοὺς [

Fr. 86.

ἀ]νδρὸς ὅτ[ε
]τρῃ κα[
]ος οὐ λυτ[ὸς (?)
ὑ]περτάτᾳ . [
]' ου[
. . . . .

Fr. 87. . . . . .

]νωσ[
] ἀνοίξαμ[ε]ν . [. .]
π]άντων ἔργων ἱερώτ[ατον (?)
]τα[. .]έντες·
]
. . . . . .

Fr. 88. . . .

πεμ[
[.]δομ[
[.] . θυ[
. . .

Fr. 89. . .

βια̣[
δι̣[
. .

Fr. 90. . . . . .

]ν . . [
]ι̣σορυθμοσεφαι̣[
]άλκε[.]ι̣μεντό[
]ποκῖο̣ν[
]´˘] . [
. . . . . .

Fr. 91. . . .

]αιν[
]ιππ[
]α̣ρ̣[
]εμ[
]τον[
]απ̣[
]α̣π̣[. .] . . θε̣γμ̣[
] . ι̣[.] . ων . . [
. . . .

Fr. 92. . . .

] [
] . ανδ[
]σπάρ[
]α̣διοσ·ι̣[
] . · ε̣[
. . .

Fr. 93. . . .

] . [
]τι[
]ε̣αισ·ομ̣[
]ὄπλδι̣[
] . [
. . .

Fr. 94. . . . .

]
]ντ[. . .]νειυμνε[
]νυ̣[. .]ι̣ων
] αρ[. .]ντωι·ι̣[
]
] μ̣[
] ε . [
. . . .

Fr. 95. . . . .

]λομεν
]ι·τ.ισ
]α̣σθεωμουσα[
ακολουθ[
]εντισιμετα[
]
]νμαν̣[
. . . . .

Fr. 96. . . .

θρασυσ[
]νταχυ[
]αλεξανδ[
]ιπνευσ̣[

Fr. 97. . . .

]αδι̣αι̣[
]
]ειασ[
]
. . .

Fr. 98. . .

] . . [
]ᾱ . [
. .

Fr. 99. . . . .

]ντελ̣ε̣[
]α·πολλα[
] [
. . . . .

Fr. 100. . . .

] . α[.] . [
]σ̣εταί[
. . .

Fr. 101. . .

]δᾱ[
]αισ̣[
. .

Fr. 102. . .

]αφι̣[
. .

Fr. .103 . . .

]ο̣υανθρ̣ω̣π̣[
]ι̣τη̣ . [.]ι̣[
. . .

Fr. 104. . . .

] . α̣[
]αισ [

Fr. 105. . . .

] . [
]μ̣ν̣[
. . .

Fr. 106. . .

]πᾳ̣[
. .

Fr. 88. . . .
πεμ[π
[.]δομ[
[.] . θυ[
. . .

Fr. 90. . . . . .
]ν . . [
] ἰσόρυθμος ἐφαί[νετο (?)
χ]άλκε[.]ι μὲν τό[
ὑ]πὸ κίον[
5] . [
. . . . . .

Fr. 92. . . . .
]
] . ἀνδ[ρ (?)
]σπάρ[
]α Διός· ι[
] . · ϵ[
. . . . .

Fr. 93. . . . .
] . [
]τι[
]εαις· ομ[
] ὅπλοις [τε
] . [
. . . .

Fr. 94. . . . . .
]
]ντ[. . .]νειν ὑμνε[ῖν
]νυ[. .] νῶιν
] Ἀρ[ίσ(ταρχος?) σ]ὺν τῷ ἰ.
]
] μ[
5] ϵ . [
. . . . . .

Fr. 95. . . . . .
]λομεν
] . τις
]ας θεῷ μουσα[
ἀκολουθ[
5] ἔν τισι μετα[
]
]ν μαν[τ
. . . . . .

Fr. 96. . . . .
θρασύς [
]ν ταχὺ[ς
] Ἀλεξανδ[ρ
]ι πνευσ[

Fr. 99. . . . .
]ντελε[
]α· πολλα[
] [
. . . . .

Fr. 103. . . . .
τ]οῦ ἀνθρώπ[ου
]ιτη . [.]τ[
. . . .

Fr. 107. . . . . .
]
]ρ̣ωτοσαπ[.]δαφνησδαφνη̣[
]
]

Fr. 108. . . .
]οσοδι[
] . ν̣
. . .

Fr. 109. . .
]ε'ω[
ε̣[
. .

Fr. 110. . .
]έλ[
]ο̣ντ̣[
. .

Fr. 111. . .
]
]
]ένα[
. .

Fr. 112. . . . .
]
]
]σ̣υνχαριτ̣[
]ῆϊ . [.]ι̣[
. . . .

Fr. 113. . .
]
]ψ̣ι̣α
]
. .

Fr. 114. . .
]
]
]σθεχ[
. .

Fr. 115. . .
ἆδ[

Fr. 116. . . .
]ν̣
]τ̣οκυρ[
]γ̣ᾰ̀ρ [
] . . . [
. . .

Fr. 117. . . .
] . μιτ̣[
]·ρ̣ᾱ̣[
. . .

Fr. 118. . . .
]ι̣
]ασ χ̣[
]
]
. . .

Fr. 119. . . .
] . ῠ̆σ . [
. . .

Fr. 120. . . . .
]
]ω̣ν̣[. . . . .] . [
. . . .

Fr. 121. . . .
]ξ[.]ι̣ . [
]
]
. . .

Fr. 122. . . .
]
] . σ̣αρ[.]σ[
]
]θ̣[
. . .

Fr. 123. . .
]λ̣[
] . [
. .

Fr. 124. . . .
]
]
]ο̣ξεν[
]πανο[
]
]αρε^τ δ[
. . .

Fr. 125. . .
]
]ο̣θε[
]ο̣υπα̣[
. .

Fr. 107. . . . . .

]
π]ρῶτος ἀπ[ὸ] δάφνης δαφνη[φορικόν (?)
]
]

Fr. 108. . . .

πρ]οσόδι[ον (?)
] . ν
. . .

Fr. 112. . . . . .

]
]
] σὺν Χαρίτ[εσσι ?
]ῆϊ̈ . [.]ι[
. . . . . .

Fr. 116. . . . . .

]ν
] τὸ κύρ[ιον
] γὰρ [
] . . . [
. . . . . .

Fr. 124. . . . .

]

]οξεν[
]παν ο
]
] ἀρετ( )̲δ[
. . . .

D

Col. i (Fr. 126, Col. i).

Opposite lines 16–17.

. . . .

] .
]σ̣
]δ̣αρ̂

Col. ii (Fr. 127 and Fr. 126, Col. ii).

Fr. 127. . .
]όλ[
]ότ[
]ρὰ̣[

Fr. 126, Col. ii. . . . .
[. .]ῷ̣νοσ̣[
η[.]αρποῦφ[
ὑ[.]έρφατον[
ηποντ[
ἠπᾰ̀γετονχ[
ὕδατιζὰκότ[
ηνοτιονθεν[
ημεγαλοκοτωι[
ηπαρατονότε[

Col. iii (Fr. 128, Col. i). Plate III.

Opposite l. 37.

]ισ

Opposite ll. 40–41.

]ομουσ
]τατου
]ι̣τελλομενα

Opposite l. 44.

]ι̣ζουσι̣
]σσυνα[.]

Between ll. 47 and 48.

]μ̣μ̣ε̣[. .]
].

IX. [ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ].

στρ. α΄ 1 [Ἀκτὶς ἀελίου, τί πολύσκοπε μήσεαι,]s
2 [ὦ μᾶτερ ὀμμάτων; ἄστρον ὑπέρτατον Πίν]δαρο(s)
3 [ἐν ἀμέρᾳ κλεπτόμενον ⟨∪⟩ ἔθηκας ἀμάχανον]

4 [ἰσχύν τ' ἀνδράσιν καὶ σοφίας ὁδόν,]
5 [ἐπίσκοτον ἀτραπὸν ἐσσυμένα]
6 [ἐλαύνειν τι νεώτερον ἢ πάρος;]
7 [ἀλλά σε πρὸς Διός, ἱπποσόα θοάς,]
8 [ἱκετεύω, ἀπήμονα]
9 [εἰς] ὅλ[βον τινὰ τράποιο Θήβαις,]
10 [ὦ π]ότ[νια, πάγκοινον τέρας.

ἀντ. α΄ 1 [–]ρᾱ[– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ⏑
2 [– – ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ⏑]
3 [∪]ω̃νὄσ[– – πολέμοιο δὲ σᾶμα φέρεις τινός,
4 ἢ [κ]αρποῦ φ[θίσιν, ἢ νιφετοῦ σθένος
5 ὑ[π]έρφατον, [ἢ στάσιν οὐλομέναν
6 ἢ πόντ[ου κενέωσιν ⟨∪⟩ ἂμ πέδον,
7 ἢ παγετὸν χ[θονός, ἢ νότιον θέρος
8 ὕδατι ζακότ[ῳ ῥέον
ἢ νότιον θ(έρος) ἐν [ᾧ νότος πνεῖ (?)
ἢ μεγαλοκότῳ [ὕδατι . . .
ἢ παρὰ τὸ νοτε[ρών.

9 [ἢ γαῖαν κατακλύσαισα θήσεις]
10 [ἀνδρῶν νέον ἐξ ἀρχᾶς γένος·]
ἐπ. α΄ 1 [ὀλοφύρομαι οὐδὲν ὅτι πάντων μέτα πείσομαι]

Lines 22–33 lost = ep. 2–10, str. 1–3.

Opposite ll. 40–41.

]ομους
]τατου
ἐπ]ιτελλόμενα

Col. iv (Fr. 128, Col. ii). Plate III.

εμπ[.]τ[.]λεσθην
εκρανθηνυποδαιμονιωιτινι
τωι[. .]μηνιωιλεγει
35 λεχειπελασαμβροσιωιμελίασ αν᾽εγγ[
μ[.]ταυλουτηνωι᾽δηνυπ[.]διδουσ εντουτῳ[
αγαυονκαλαμωισυναγεν̣θρόν με[
τοισποιημασι τη[
μήδεσσίτεφρὲν̣οσυμ[.]τεραν χαριν
λιταν̣ένωεκα[[τα]]βολε
μὸισᾰιαισαν[.]τιθεὶστεχνα[. .]ι
40 χρηστηριον[᾽. .] . [.]λον̣τ[. .]ι· τοενθη[
ενω̂ιτήνερονευρυβιανθεμιτ[
εξαιρετονπροφᾰτανέτὲκ[
κοραμ[.]γεῖσωκεανουμελῖ̆ασέοπυθι[
[. . .]κάδμουστρατονκαιζεάθουπο[
45 ακερσεκομαπάτερὰνορέασ
επετρεψασεκατισαοφρονοσ·
ι
καιγαροποντοσορσ[. .]ρίαινάνιν
περίαλλ̣α̣βροτωντ̈ίεν
ευρίπ̣ο̣υτεσυ̣νέτεινεχω̂ρον μεταπο[

Frs. 129–31, Col. i.

. . . . . .

[. .]κε[
και χ[
ε̈νατ[—
σ̣τυ[
5 βέν[
α̈πᾱσσ̣τ[. . . . .]ξο . [

ενναετ[. . . .] . . . [.] .ταρι[
απομερισθησομεναντ . [

]αλεξαν
] . σχρυ
] . κα . . [. . .] . [. .]α̣κο̣υ̣τα
]ηριδοκαιτουτονκαιεσθαι
]ρ[.]νδυναταιειναικ[.]ιναδισαυ̣
] . [.]α̣λιτηριον
]π[.] . [. . . . .].μ[. . .]διατουέεσται
]λε
]λ̣ο̣υσ̣τ[. . . . .].αταικαιμεταυτα
]
]κουγαρδ[. . . . .]τ̣υ̣γοσυδτιναλεγειεπηνειον
]υ̣νδε̣τ[.]ρ[. . . . .]ι̣[. .] . εσχεσυναφειαντωιτιταρησιωι
[. . .]π̣ο[.]ροιανα̣π[.]σ̣τυ̣γοσεχειωσκ[.]ιομηροσ
λεγει
]λλ
]ι̣ω̣σδιαεε[. .]α̣ν
]αιαγνισθησο[. .]νων

ἐπ[ε]τ[ε]λέσθην.

στρ. β′ 4 ἐκράνθην ὑπὸ δαιμονίῳ τινὶ

τῷ [Ἴσ]μηνίῳ λέγει.

35 5 λέχει πέλας ἀμβροσίῳ Μελίας ἀντ(ὶ τοῦ) ἐγγ[ὺς τοῦ ἱεροῦ (?)

μ[ε]τ' αὐλοῦ τὴν φδὴν ⟨ἀ⟩π[ο]διδούς. ἐν τούτῳ [

6 ἀγαυὸν καλάμῳ συνάγεν θρόον με[

τοῖς ποιήμασι. τη[

7 μήδεσ{σ¦ί τε φρενὸς ὑμ[ε]τέραν χάριν.

8 λιτανεύω, ἑκαβόλε,

9 Μοισαίαις ἀν[α]τιθεὶς τέχνα[ισ]ι

40 10 χρηστήριδν — — λοντ[ᴗ]ι, τὸ ἐν Θή[βαις Ἰσμήνιον.

ἀντ. β′ 1 ἐν ᾧ Τήνερον εὐρυβίαν θεμίτ[ων ποτὲ

2 ἐξαίρετον προφάταν ἔτεκ[εν λέχει

3 κόρα μ[ι]γεῖσ' Ὠκεανοῦ Μελία σέο Πύθι[ε·

4 [τῷ] Κάδμου στρατὸν καὶ Ζεάθου πό[λιν,

45 5 ἀκερσεκόμα πάτερ, ἀνορέας

6 ἐπέτρεψας ἔκατι σαόφρονος.

7 καὶ γὰρ ὁ πόντιος Ὀρσ[οτ]ρίαινά νιν

8 περίαλλα βροτῶν τίεν,

9 Εὐρίπου τε συνέτεινε χῶρον μεταπο[ρευθῆναι λέγεται (?)

Frs. 129–31, Col. i.

. . . . . .

] Ἀλεξαν-

]. s χρυ-

[. .]κε[ ]. κα . . [. . .] . [. .]ακοντα

ἐνναετ]ηρίδο(s) καὶ τοῦτον καίεσθαι

καὶ χ[ ]ρ[.]ν δύναται εἶναι κ[.]ινα δὶς αὐ-

]. [.] ἀλιτήριον

ἐνάτ[α]π[.] . [. . . . . .]μ[. . .] διὰ τοῦ ε ἔσται

]λε

Στυ[γὸς]λουστ[. . . δύν]αται καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα

]

5 βέν[θ ὕρ]κου γὰρ δ[εινοῦ Σ]τυγὸς ὕδ(ατος)· τινὰ λέγει Πηνειὸν

ἄπας στ[. . . . .]ξο . [ ]νν δετ[.]ρ[. . . . .]ι[. . .] . ἔσχε συνάφειαν τῷ Τιταρησίῳ

[καὶ ἀ]πό[ρ]οιαν ἀπ[ὸ] Στυγὸς ἔχει ὡς κ[α_ι Ὅμηρος

λέγει.

]λλ

ἐνναετ[ηρὶς] . . . [.] . τ( ) Ἀρί[(σταρχος ?]ν ὡς διὰ ε ἑ[τ]ῶν

ἀπομερισθησομέναν τ . [κ]αὶ ἀγνισθησο[μέ]ναν.

Two fragments perhaps from this column.

Fr. 132.

]ειδαμ[
]
]μεν[
]
. . .

Fr. 133. . . .

]αντα[
]
]
]ωσ̣[
]. [
. . .

Fr. 131, Col. ii.

. [.]φλλ[
εμ[. .]ιδο[
τησμι[
λεγετα[
γνὰμπτ[
ψαντεσαι̣[
πατηρδει̣[
καιχρυσο[
ἄ̣γήσεται·τ̣[
πολιᾰ́οχ[
αστοισιτε[
ξὲνοκᾰ̀δ[
τακ[
εστα[
εμον[
τινμε[. . .]ρμινι̣μ̣[
ἐμινδεπα[.]κέινοι̣[
ζευχθεῖσαπ̣[.]οβώμ[
υιονέτιτέξ̣[.]ι̣·τονα . [
κλυτομᾰ́ντι̣εστῶιδ[

Fr. 134. . . . . .

]
]ασταλιουφ[
]στινδαπολλω[
ικαδ[
]αιανδραωνεκδι̣[
]ι̣᾽εκδεκρητησσ[

Fr. 135. . . .

]μ̣οι̣[
]ιτανδ[
]τον[
]οτι̣[

Col. ii.

. [.]αλλ[
ϵμ[. .]ιδο[
τῆς μι[
λέγεται[ι
γναμπτ[
ψαντες αι[
πατὴρ δει[
καὶ χρυσο[
ἀγήσεται· τ[
πολιάοχ[
ἀστοῖσι τε[
ξενοκαδ[
τακ[
ἀντ. ? εστα[
ἐμὸν [
τὶν μὲ[ν πά]ρ μιν ἰμ[ερ(?)
ἐμὶν δὲ πὰ[ρ] κείνοι[ς . . .
ζευχθεῖσα π[ρ]οβώμ[ιος . . .
υἱὸν ἔτι τέξ[ε]ι· τὸν α . [
κλυτομάντιες τῷ δ[

Fr. 134. . . . . .

]
Κ]αστάλιον φ[
ἔ]στιν δ' Ἀπόλλω[ν
ἱκαδ[ιο (!)
κ]αὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐκδι[κ
]ιτ( ) ἐκ δὲ Κρήτης σ[

5]ι̣δελφοιοθενκαικ[
]νὸμώνυμο[
]σ θηβαιοισπροσ̣[
]
]οσ/εικαδιοσαρι^σ . [
10]
]ν
. . . . .

5]ροσ̣[
. . .

Fr. 136. . . .
] . [
]τ̣εισμ̣[
] . . . . [
. . .

Fr. 137. . . .
]δ[
]ε̣ρχε[
]
. . .

Fr. 138. . . .
]α̣μ̣ον[.]ι̣σμ̣[
]
]
]
]σκαι
. . .

Fr. 139. . . . . .
] . π̣ο[. . . . . .]
]^ο και[. .]στοντησαυλιδ̣οσπο[
]τ̣ηναυλιδακατοικουσινμαντευε[

Fragments which may belong to either C or D.

Fr. 140. . . .
]εμ̣α̣[
]ξ̣ειρ[
]κτει̣ν̣[
]υ̣ρησ[
]ι̣τ[
. . .

Fr. 141. . . .
]
]λ̣οντωνκ̣[
ι
] . τω[
. . .

Fr. 142. . . .
] . [
ι̣
]ω̣κι̣σ̣[
] [
] . ο [
. . .

Fr. 143. . . .
]ε
]σ·ὲπε̣[
]ᾱικο̣[
. . .

Fr. 144. . . . . .
]κ̣ι̣α̣σ̣[
]τευπομειν̣[.]ι̣ [
]λ̣εσ̣α̣ [.]εισ . [
]
. . . . . .

Fr. 145. . . .
]ετον[
]δεον[
]
. . .

Fr. 146. . . .
]α̣σ̣ο̣[
]τει̣[
]ά̣βο̣[
. . .

Fr. 147. . .
]α̣ν [
]οτ[
. .

]ι Δελφοὶ ὅθεν καὶ κ[
]ν ὁμώνυμο[
]ς Θηβαίοις προσ[
]
]ος. εἰκάδιος Ἀρίσ(ταρχος ?) . [
]
]ν
. . . . . .

Fr. 137. . . . .
]δ[
] ἔρχε[σθαι (?)
]
. . . .

Fr. 138. . . . . .
ποτ]αμόν [τ'] Ἴσμ[ηνὸν (?)
]
]
]
]ς καὶ
. . . . . .

Fr. 139. . . . . .
] . πο[. . . . . .]
]ο( ) καὶ [εἰ]ς τὸν τῆς Αὐλιδος πο[ρθμὸν(?)
τοῖς] τὴν Αὐλιδα κατοικοῦσιν μαντεύε[σθαι (?)

Fr. 144. . . . . .
]κιασ[
]τε ὑπομεῖν[α]ι.
]λεσα [.]εισ . [
]
. . . . . .

Fr. 148. . . .
]·δἂω[
]·[
. . .

Fr. 149. . . .
]αν
]
]
. . .

Fr. 150. . . .
]
]ν
]
]
]
. . .

Fr. 151. . .
]δα̣[
] [
] [
] [
] [
. .

Fr. 152. . .
ου[
υ̇ι[
. .

Fr. 153. . .
α[
. .

Fr. 154. . .
]ω·
. .

Fr. 155. . .
] κ̣ι[
]ι̣σγ̣[

Fr. 156. . . .
]ᾱι
]·ο̣ι̣[
]·ε̣σ̣[
. . .

Fr. 157. . . .
]α̣νεμ[
. . .

Fr. 158. . . .
]·αι̣[
. . .

Fr. 159. . . .
]αχρ$^{\eta}$ο̣τ[
]
]
. . .

Fr. 160. . . .
]τε[
]·[
. . .

Fr. 161. . . .
]τοσ̣ισμ̣[
]
]
. . .

Fr. 162. . . . . .
]ν̣ταλιαν·[
] ενκαιπόρονα[
] τουτ′ κα̣[
]
. . . . . .

I. For the Thebans.

1–10. ‘Ere the pains of old age draw nigh let a man clothe his mind with cheerfulness and be content in due measure, seeing the power that is set in his house. Oh joy! Now the consummating year and the Hours, children of Themis, have come to the horse-

Fr. 152. . .
οὐ[
νί[
. .

Fr. 159. . . . . .
]αχρη( ) ο τ[
]
]
. . . . . .

Fr. 161. . . . . .
]τος Ἰσμ[ηνι (?)
]
]
. . . . . .

Fr. 162. . . . .
]ντα λίαν .[
] ἐν καὶ πόρον α[
] τουτ( ) κα[
]
. . . .

loving city of Thebes, bringing Apollo's garlanded feast. May he long crown the generations of the citizens with the flowers of sobriety and good government.'

1. The letter before the lacuna may also be ο. For πρὶν . . . πρίν cf. *Pyth.* ii. 91–2 πρόσθε . . . πρίν.

3. *ἰδὼν κ.τ.λ.* seems to be epexegetical of *ἐπὶ μέτρα*, i.e. the more a man has the greater should be his thankfulness. *οἰκόθετος* is a new compound.

6 *Θεμίγονοι*: cf. Pind. Fr. 30 *Θέμιν . . . ἅλοχον Διὸς . . . ἁ δὲ τὰς χρυσάμπυκας ἀγλαοκάρπους τίκτεν ἀλαθέας Ὥρας.*

8. *δαῖτα φιλησιστέφανον*: i. e. the festival of the Daphnephoria, which was celebrated at Thebes in honour of Apollo Ismenius every ninth year; cf. Frs. 107 and 129–31.

9. [τὰ]ν δέ: or [τά]νδε, which Prof. Bury would prefer. For *ἐρέπτοι* cf. *Pyth.* iv. 240 *στεφάνοισί τέ νιν ποίος ἔρεπτον.*

II. For the Abderites.

1–5. 'Abderus with breastplate of brass, son of the Naiad Thronia and Poseidon, beginning from thee I will pursue this paean for the Ionian folk, hard by the shrine of Apollo of Derenus and Aphrodite . . .'

1–2. This statement of the parentage of Abderus differs from the common version, according to which he was a son of Hermes (Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ἄβδηρα, Apollodor. *Bibl.* ii. 5. 8). [Ναΐδ]ος is due to Bury; it would be natural to make the paramour of Poseidon a Naiad. Some such epithet as *εὐκλέος* would also be suitable, but that word is too long for the space. Abderus is said to have been beloved by Heracles, who founded in his honour the city of Abdera after he had been killed by the horses of the Thracian king Diomedes. It is noteworthy that, while Apollodorus *l. c.* calls Abderus *Λοκρὸς ἐξ Ὀποῦντος*, according to the Tabula Farnesiana (C. I. G. 5984, c. 12 sqq.) he was a *Θρονικός*, i. e. a native of the Opuntian Thronium. That city was supposed to have been named after the nymph Thronia (Schol. *Il.* B 533), and the statement of the Tab. Farn. evidently reflects the same version of the legend as that here followed by Pindar.

θώρακος was no doubt followed by other words, though there is a short blank space after it; **πατρίου** was written by a different hand.

3. [*σέθ*]*εν* is used as in *Nem.* i. 4 *Δάλου κασιγνήτα, σέθεν ἀδυεπὴς ὕμνος ὁρμᾶται θέμεν αἶνον*, the termination *-θεν* having its proper ablatival meaning, *ἀπὸ σοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβών* as the scholiast rightly remarks. *ἄποικοι γάρ κ.τ.λ.* explains *Ἰάονι*. For the colonization of Abdera by the Teians in the middle of the sixth century B.C. cf. Hdt. i. 168, Strabo xiv. p. 644.

4. [δι]ώξω: cf. Simonides Fr. 29 *καμπύλον μέλος διώκων*, and *Isthm.* iii. 21 (iv. 3) *ἀρετὰς ὕμνῳ διώκειν*. *μι* could be read in place of the doubtful *ω*, but [παι]ᾶν' ἀ[να]μίξω, though it might be supported by an appeal e. g. to *Isthm.* vi. 2 *δεύτερον κρατῆρα Μοισαίων μελέων κίρναμεν*, is less suitable to [*σέθ*]*εν*.

5. [Δή]*ρηνον*: cf. Pindar Fr. 63 (schol. ad Lycophron *Alex.* 440 *Δηραίνου κύνες*) *Δήραινος· τόπος οὕτω καλούμενος ἐν Ἀβδήροις, ἔνθα Δηραίνου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐστιν, οὗ μνημονεύει καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν Παιᾶσιν.* The majority of the MSS. of Lycophron show the spelling *Δηραίνου*, one, Par. A, having *Δειρ.* A supplement of three letters would suit the papyrus better than one of only two, but there is hardly any difference in the space occupied by *η* and *ει*. There was perhaps a reference to the temple after [*ὃ*]*που* [, as in the scholium on Lycophron *l. c.*

The papyrus consistently makes this verse end with two short syllables in synaphia with the verse following; the division adopted in the text at the fourth syllable of l. 6 has the advantage of placing the *syllaba anceps* at the end of the verse. An apparently mistaken division occurs also in the fourth line of the epode; cf. note on l. 25.

24–36. '. . . I dwell in this vine-bearing fruitful land of Thrace; may mighty time in future days ne'er weary of a stable course for me. Young is my city, yet I have seen my mother's mother stricken with foemen's fire. But if a man in succour of his friends

fiercely withstands the enemy, his efforts coming to the conflict in season bring peace. O Paean, to whom we cry, we cry! may Paean never leave us.'

24. *ναίω* : the speaker is the personified Abdera.

25. The marginal ι marks the 900th line; cf. introd. and 659. 67. We transpose *-σάν τε καί* to this verse in order to avoid the internal hiatus *καὶ εὔκαρπον*.

26–7. Cf. *Ol.* viii. 28–9 *ὁ δ' ἐπαντέλλων χρόνος τοῦτο πράσσων μὴ κάμοι*, and for *ἔμπεδος*, *Nem.* vii. 57 *Μοῖρα τέλος ἔμπεδον ὤρεξε*.

28–9. *ματρὸς ματέρ' ἐμᾶς* : i.e. Athens, which took a prominent part in the colonization of Teos (Strabo xiv. p. 633, Pausan. vii. 3. 6) which in turn was the parent-city of Abdera (cf. schol. on l. 3 above). The meaningless *ετεκον* of the papyrus requires some such emendation as that adopted in the text. The mark of length enclosed between two dots over the second syllable of *ἔμπαν* was intended to replace or to be an alternative to the quantity mark first written. The *α* is long in *ἔμπαν*, short in *ἔμπα*. Either a long or short syllable would be admissible at this point; cf. l. 65. For ελ[Bury suggests *ἐλ[ινύοι* as a gloss on *κάμοι*.

31. *ἀρκέων* is to be scanned as a disyllable. The marginal note *ἐὰν ἐν καιρῷ* is a paraphrase of the text and may be restored in various ways.

32. Cf. *Pyth.* viii. 10–1 *τραχεῖα δυσμενέων ὑπαντιάξαισα κράτει*. The interlinear *ξ*, signifying a variant *ὑπαντιάξει*, is not certainly by the first hand; the present tense is probably sound. In the marginal note opposite this line (and also in that on l. 34) it is not clear whether *δύναται* is used impersonally = 'The sense of the passage is,' as apparently in the scholium on l. 36, or whether *ὁ μόχθος* is the subject, for which cf. l. 73 *δύναται φύρσει ἀποκτενεῖ*.

34. For *καταβαίνων* here cf. *Pyth.* viii. 78 *μέτρῳ καταβαίνειν*, though whether the verb in these two passages means 'to descend into the arena' or has a wider sense 'to proceed' (with seasonableness or moderation), is uncertain. The former meaning is very appropriate in the present context.

37–8. The scholium [δύ]ναται . . . λῆμμα apparently refers to *ἀλκᾷ*, though it does not seem very apposite. Perhaps *ἢ* should be read for *ἡ*; of the following letter only the barest vestige remains, but this, so far as it goes, suits the base of a *τ*. In the second scholium we suppose that *κᾶι*, which is in a different hand from that of *Θέω(ν)* . . . *ἁπάταις*, indicates a variant *ἀλκᾷ* for the *ἀλκαί* of the text; cf. l. 40 *δᾶιοις*, IV. 4 *σατο*. It is true that there is only a very slight remnant of the supposed mark of short quantity above *αλκαι*, but there is certainly a trace of ink which it is not easy to interpret otherwise. The remainder of the note cites in comparison another passage of Pindar (Fr. 213), to which may be added *Isthm.* v. 44–5 *τετείχισται δὲ πάλαι πύργος ὑψηλαῖς ἀρεταῖς ἀναβαίνειν*. Why the citation is introduced by the word *θεω(ν)* is not clear. Possibly *θεῶν* occurred in the lacuna before *ἀλκᾷ*. To connect *θεω(ν)* with *και* and suppose a crasis of *καὶ αἰθέων* is unsatisfactory on account of (1) the difference in the hands, (2) the absence of diaeresis over *ι*, (3) the difficulty of completing the sentence [– ∪ *καἰθέων*]. A better hypothesis, we think, is to regard *Θέω(ν)* as a critic who read *ἀλκᾷ*; cf. the references to Zenodotus and others in ll. 61, IV. 58, &c. The grammarian Theon, who flourished about the time of Augustus, wrote commentaries on poets, and it has been argued from an allusion in Schol. *Ol.* v. 42 that these included a work on Pindar; cf. Susemihl, *Gesch. der Griech. Litt.* ii. pp. 215–7. This view is now corroborated by the papyrus. *ὕψιστον* in the citation is inferior to the ordinary reading *ὕψιον* and is probably due to the occurrence of *ὕψιστον* in l. 38, where the superlative is appropriate. At the end of that line *αι* is most probably the termination of a verb, and *ἵστατ|αι* (Bury) has the advantage of being possible with either *ἀλκαί* or *ἀλκᾷ*. Other possibilities are *γίνετ|αι* or perhaps *ἔσσετ|αι*, though a future

is not so natural; verbs like αἴρεται or βάλλεται would necessarily involve ἀλκᾷ. The supposed αι may, however, be ν, though that is a less suitable reading.

39–44. Bury proposes to restore these lines as follows: *μάρναμαι μὰν* [*εὐτλάμοσι δάο*]*ις·* [*ἔρκος δὲ Ποσ*]*ειδάνιο*[*ν γ*]*ένος ἵππων* [*μέγα·*] *τῶν γὰρ ἀντομένων* [*πόλεμον ἄντα*] *φέρεσθαι* [*κραιπνόν, πυρὸς ὡ*]*ς σέλας.* For *ἀντομένων πόλεμον* cf. *Nem.* i. 67–8 *ὅταν θεοὶ . . . μάχαν ἀντιάζωσιν*, and for *ἀντομένων . . . ἄντα*, *Isthm.* vii. 28 *λοιγὸν ἄντα φέρων* (?) *ἐναντίῳ στρατῷ*. This ingenious restoration is attractive, but it is not very close to what the scholiast gives as *τὸ νόημα*. In l. 44 the vestige before *σελας* would suit *σ*, but a supplement of 14 letters is rather long; *κραιπνοί* would be slightly shorter and perhaps clearer. In l. 41 on the other hand *μέγα* is hardly sufficient.

40. The marginal δαίοις with mark of length above αι drew attention to the disyllabic scansion of the word in this passage, as also in *Nem.* viii. 28. There is no necessity to assume that the ι was wrongly marked with a diaeresis in the text.

41. Cf. *Ol.* v. 21 *Ποσειδανίασιν ἵπποις ἐπιτερπόμενον*, and the reference to ἡ ἵππος in the scholium opposite ll. 43 sqq. At the beginning of the verse Blass suggested *τιμῷ δέ*. For the metrical arrangement of the lines here cf. l. 5, note.

46. φθονεῖ suggests that]ι *μανίει* not]*μαν ἴει* is the right division. *μανίειν* is not found elsewhere in Pindar, but *μᾶνις* occurs in *Pyth.* iv. 159.

48. The scholium here is difficult and apparently corrupt (cf. ll. 57–8, note), and owing to the mutilation of the passage to which it refers emendation is hazardous. The termination of the participles in the second line is probably -ταις rather than -τες; either ὑβρίσαι or ὑβρίσει may be read, and ἐπιτιθεμένη is just possible in place of ἐπιτίθε(σθαι) ἂν ἦ, but the letters μεν would be run together in an abnormal manner. None of these readings, however, produces a straightforward sentence, though the general sense is evident, that internal sedition gives external enemies their opportunity. στασιάζοντας καὶ πολιτεύονταις might be interpreted in the sense of the revolutionaries and the Government, but it is not improbable that some word like *διαφόρως* (Blass) has dropped out after πολιτε[ύ]ονταις. To the emendation ἐπιτίθε(σθαι) ἂν ⟨εἴ⟩η there is the objection that the object of *ἐπιτίθεσθαι* should be in the dative, not the accusative, and that either *στασιάζουσιν δὲ καὶ πολιτεύουσιν* ⟨*διαφόρως*⟩ or *στασιαζόντων δὲ καὶ πολιτευόντων* ⟨*διαφόρως*⟩ would be expected. Another remedy would be to alter δέ to τε and make τοὺς . . . στασιάζοντάς ⟨τ⟩ε καὶ πολιτεύονταις the subject of ὑβρίσαι, inserting ὥστε (Bury) before πολλῷ. μᾶλλον . . . ἢ ὀξέως would then mean 'with more energy, or quickly.' This also, however, is hardly convincing; perhaps the corruption goes deeper, and something like *εἰ ἡ ὕβρις* ⟨*αἱρήσ*⟩*ει τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει στασ.* ⟨τ⟩*ε καὶ* ⟨*διαφόρως*⟩ *πολιτ., πολλῷ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἐπ. ἐπιτίθ. ἂν* ⟨*εἴ*⟩*η ὀξέως* was really intended. For the omission of ἄν with εἴη ὑβρίσαι cf. e. g. Schol. ad Soph. *O. T.* 175 *ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλῳ ἴδοις*. A dot over the υ of υβρισαι possibly represents a diaeresis. The first α in στασιαζοντας was altered from an ι.

Whichever view of the scholium be preferred, it seems likely that *ὕβρις* or *ὑβρίζειν* occurred in the text; cf. the antithesis of *τὸ δ' εὐβουλίᾳ κ.τ.λ.* in ll. 50–2 with the opposition in *Ol.* xiii. 6–10 of Ὕβρις to Εὐνομία the daughter of *εὔβουλος Θέμις*. Bury considers that ὀξύς in some form may also be restored, and suggests [*μή ποθ' ὕβρις ἑλοῖσα τόνδε λ*]*αὸν ἀστῶν* [*δύσηρις ὀξέαις* | *πολεμίοις ἐπάγ*]*οι*. This may well be the sense, and it is highly probable that]οι in l. 50 is an optative termination; but the disparity in the length of the supplements proposed for ll. 48 and 50 is too great.

50–72. 'But the heart devoted to prudence and modesty ever enjoys gentle peace. Such may heaven bestow; the hostile envy of those who are long since dead has now passed away; and it is right that a man should take to his forbears a lot rich in glory. They gained by war a bountiful land and stored up wealth beyond the borders of Strymon,

the hallowed nurse of wild Paeonian warriors; but an adverse fate fell on them. Yet they endured, and the gods at last joined in accomplishing their desire. He who has wrought a good deed is made illustrious with praise; and to them came surpassing glory against the foe before Melamphyllum. O Paean, to whom we cry, we cry! may Paean never leave us.'

50. The letters λι in *ευβουλιαι* are corrected.

52. For *ἐγκείμενον* cf. 659. 48 (Pindar, *Parthenion*) *ὧν θάλεσσιν ἔγκειμαι*, and for *θάλλει Pyth.* xi. 53 *μακροτέρῳ ὄλβῳ τεθαλότα*. *αἰεί* is the correct Pindaric form when the first syllable is long.

54–6. The *φθόνος* is that of the gods, traceable in the early vicissitudes of the colony; cf. ll. 63–5 and *Pyth.* x. 20 *φθονεραῖς ἐκ θεῶν μετατροπίαις*. The schol. takes *τῶν* . . . as equivalent to *ἐπὶ τοῖς* . . ., but the genitive is more naturally explained as simply objective. The reading of the third line of the note is far from secure. The second *ο* of *προθανόντων* in l. 56 of the text is corrected from *ε*.

57–8. The meaning is that the descendant of ancestors who had shown such a good example should himself carry to them the tribute of a nobly spent life. Cf. *Nem.* vi. 46 *ἐπεί σφιν* (sc. the bards) *Αἰακίδαι ἔπορον ἔξοχον αἶσαν ἀρετὰς ἀποδεικνύμενοι μεγάλας*, which the scholiast explains *ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς χορηγίαν παρέχουσιν ἐπαίνων οἱ Αἰακίδαι*. The scholium on the present passage *δεῖ* [*τοῖς ἄ̣θλ(οις) κ.τ.λ.* gives a practical interpretation which diverges rather widely from the general precept of the text, though it is not out of harmony with the spirit of the passage. It seems necessary to suppose an omission of the final *ς* of *τοὺς* and *μέλ̣λον̣τας*; for other mistakes in the marginalia cf. l. 64 and note on l. 48.

61. *ἐνκατέθηκαν*: cf. Theognis 276 *χρήματα δ' ἐγκαταθῇς*. The interlinear insertion apparently indicates the not very important fact that a critic whose name began with Ar wrote *ἐγκατέθηκαν*. Which of the commentators on Pindar is meant is however not clear; the name is nowhere written out in full, and several other abbreviations occur, which may or may not refer to the same person. In the present passage there is *αρ* with an angular mark above *ρ*, in Fr. 134. 9 (cf. Frs. 82. 35, 94. 3, and 129–31. i) *αριστ*; elsewhere we find *α* or *αρ* followed by a *ν* having a vertical stroke drawn through the middle: for the former cf. II. 75, VI. 89, for the latter VI. 181. *α*[in VIII. 35 may also well be one or other of these forms. If they all represent a single name, then that of Aristophanes of Byzantium is the most probable. But since Aristarchus, Aristodemus, and Aristonicus were also Pindaric critics who are quoted in the extant scholia, and four different compendia occur in the papyrus, it is not impossible that there may be references to all four scholars. At any rate it seems preferable to differentiate the group having a *ν̄*, and here there is the choice between Aristophanes and Aristonicus, a grammarian who flourished under Augustus and therefore not too late to be mentioned in this manuscript; cf. the possible allusion in II. 37 to his contemporary Theon. On the whole we are inclined in view of the greater importance of Aristarchus and Aristophanes to suppose that *αρ* and *αρισ* stand for the former, *αρν̄* and *αν̄* for the latter. Some support for the expansion of *αρν̄* as Aristophanes is to be found in the Paris Alcman papyrus, where in ii. 3 the analogous compendium *αριχ* no doubt stands for *Ἀρίσταρχος*, *αριστο* in i. 32 probably representing *Ἀριστοφάνης*.

63. For *τροφοῦ* cf. *Pyth.* ii. 1–2 *Συράκοσαι* . . . *ἀνδρῶν ἵππων τε σιδαροχαρμᾶν δαιμόνιαι τροφοί* and VI. 14 below. The scholium on *ἄλλα κ.τ.λ.* apparently refers to the failure of a previous attempt by Timesius of Clazomenae to establish a colony at Abdera, recorded in Hdt. i. 168 *Τιμήσιος κτίσας οὐκ ἀπόνητο ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Θρηίκων ἐξελαθείς* . . .; cf. ll. 54–6, note.

65. *τελο̣ῦσιν*: or *τέλο̣ς ἐπέθηκαν*?

67. The final *ν* of *εναγοριωσιν* has been deleted (by the first hand?) by a cross-stroke

and a dot placed above, but is necessary for the metre. *φλέγειν* intr. has a similar sense in *Nem.* vi. 38 *παρὰ Κασταλίαν τε Χαρίτων ἑσπέριος ὁμάδῳ φλέγεν.*

69. Μελάμφυλλον is not otherwise known. According to Pliny, *H. N.* iv. 11. 18, Melamphyllus was the name of a Thracian mountain, and possibly this is here meant.

73–80. '"But they shall put him to confusion when he has come near the river, matched with a small array against a great host." It fell out on the first day of the month; and the rosy-footed maiden, kindly Hecate, brought tidings of the word which was about to come to pass. And with her . . .'

73–5. The future indicative in *φύρσει* seems unintelligible except on the view that these three lines give the substance of an ancient oracle, which Blass suggested may have run in some such form as *ἀλλ' ὁπόταν ποταμῷ σχεδὸν ἔλθῃ δὴ τότε φύρσει ἔντεσι σὺν βαιοῖσι πολὺν στρατόν* . . . The author or occasion of the prognostication was probably named in the lost marginal note opposite l. 73. The second *ο* of *μολοντα* was corrected from *α* and the final *α* has also been altered. *ἔν* is a Doric form for *ἐόν*: cf. e. g. C. I. G. 5774. 117, &c. *ἔντες*, Alcman *ap.* Eustath. *Od.* p. 1787. 43 *παρέντων*. If our reading is correct, the form in the present passage had the sanction of Aristophanes (?), there being also a variant *ἕν*, of which the meaning is not easy to see. The supposed *α* is however doubtful, the remains being an oblique stroke which might be taken for a grave accent. But a grave accent here would be mistaken, and the papyrus is distinctly rubbed, while the analogy of VI. 89 is strongly in favour of the reading in the text.

Bury suggests that the word beginning with ο in the scholium here and at l. 105 may be the name of the people with whom Abdera was at war, and proposes to make them the Thracian Odomanti; but the vestige of the letter after ο does not well suit δ.

77. *φοινικόπεζα* is applied to Demeter in *Ol.* vi. 94, where the epithet has been supposed by Boeckh and other critics to refer to the red colours of harvest; but no such allusion can be claimed in the case of Hecate, and no doubt in both passages the adjective is used like *ῥοδόπηχυς* of personal charms simply.

In the first line of the scholium the letters taken for ελλ are blotted and apparently corrected; perhaps μάχη[ν was the word intended.

79. *ἐθέλοντα* = *μέλλοντα*, a use which, though not actually found in Pindar, has good classical support, e. g. Hdt. i. 109 *εἰ θελήσει ἀναβῆναι ἡ τυραννίς*. The scholiast gives an erroneous interpretation. *ἀν(τὶ τοῦ)* (cf. VI. 59, Paris Alcman iii. 11) is written *αντ* in Fr. 84. 10 and IX. 35.

81. The object of *καλέοντι* is probably Apollo, and *ἑκατα-[βόλ]ε*, as Bury suggests, is a likely supplement.

96–108. '. . . the songs invoke (Apollo) on fragrant Pindus, and by the lofty rocks of Parnassus the glancing-eyed maidens of Delphi set the fleet-footed dance and sing a sweet strain with resonant voice. And for me, O Abderus, accomplishing gracious glory of noble deeds, may you prosper the horse-loving host with a final war. O Paean, to whom we cry, we cry! may Paean never leave us.'

97–102. Cf. VI. 15–8. *ἀμφί* in l. 97 does not imply more than vicinity, the scene of the choruses being of course Delphi.

98. *η* in *υψηλαισ* was altered from an *α*.

99. [ἑλι]κώπι[δε]ς (cf. *Pyth.* vi. 1 *ἑλικώπιδος* Ἀφροδίτας) is a very doubtful restoration.

The accent and the π are on the main fragment, the κω being on a smaller detached strip which extends from this point as far as l. 106]ωι προβι[; and though metre and sense make the place of this strip in Col. viii sufficiently secure, its exact position at l. 99 is not certain. The recto being blank gives no assistance. The objection to the reading κώπ is that the accent would be expected to fall more to the right than it actually does; of the letter before the supposed ω only a tip remains, and ἑωπ would be palaeographically rather more satisfactory. The letter after π is represented by the merest speck. It must also be noticed that the supplement [ελι] scarcely fills the lacuna, and [καλυ]κώπιδες (Bury; cf. Homer, *H. Dem.* 8, &c.) would in this respect be more suitable, though on the other hand in ll. 102 and 104 also somewhat short supplements in a similar position seem to be justified by the context.

100. χαλ[κέᾳ] can hardly be avoided, for χλα[, which might be read, gives no possible word. Though at first sight a not very appropriate epithet to apply to the song of maidens, a good parallel to χαλ[κέᾳ] here occurs in Anth. Pal. ix. 505. 15 *σκέπτεο χαλκεόφωνον ἐπισπέρχουσαν ἀοιδὴν Μελπομένην*, while the use of *χάλκεος* of the human voice is as old as Homer, e. g. Ε 785 *Στέντορι . . . χαλκεοφώνῳ*, Σ 222 *ὅπα χάλκεον Αἰακίδαο*. Cf. the name Χαλκιόπη, and III. 94, where *χαλκέοπα* apparently occurs.

101. κελαδ[εῦν]τι: or κελαδ[έων]τι; but the papyrus gives *κροτεῦ̣ντι* in VI. 18, and cf. Bacchyl. viii. 43 *οἰκεῦσι*. κ of γλυκυν is over an erasure.

102–3. The right restoration of this passage is not obvious. If the emendation *προβι[βά]ζοι* were adopted in l. 106 (cf. note *ad loc.*) a satisfactory sense would be obtained by reading [γᾶν ε]ὐκλέα [τὰν σὰ]ν χάριν; cf. the conjunction of *χθόνα* and *στρατόν* in IV. 42, and *ὑμετέραν χάριν* in VIII. 37. But the word at the end of l. 102, where a bacchius is required after δέ, would remain a problem. Before the lacuna any round letter may stand, ε, θ, ο, σ, φ, or ω, and the letter preceding, if not ε, must be σ, next to which is part of a vertical stroke suggesting ι or ν; further to the left the top of an acute accent is recognizable. The meaning of *χάριν* moreover is quite uncertain, and the word may well be taken with ε]ὐκλέα, when it might mean 'gladness,' as in Pindar Fr. 75. 2 *ἴδετ' ἐν χορόν* (cf. l. 99 above), *Ὀλύμπιοι, ἔπι τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν, θεοί*, or 'glory,' as in *Isthm.* ii. 19 *κλεινᾶις . . . χαρίτεσσιν*, or even 'song,' as in *Ol.* x. 78–9 *ἐπωνυμίαν χάριν . . . κελαδησόμεθα βροντάν*, &c.; for *εὐκλέα* in connexion with the last sense cf. e. g. *Nem.* vii. 16 *κλυτ.ῖις ἐπέων ἀοιδαῖς*. Possibly, indeed, the marginal τ(ὴν) ᾠδήν really alludes to *χάριν*, though being on a level with l. 102 this gloss is more naturally referred to [νόμ]ον. The reconstruction adopted in the text was suggested by Bury; it is close to the data of the papyrus and appropriate in itself, though *καί* in l. 104 seems rather otiose. *ἐμοί* of course is Abdera.

104. The second π in *ἱπποχάρμαν* seems to have been corrected.

105. Perhaps [οὐρ]ίᾳ, as Blass suggested, though this produces a mixture of metaphors, and barely fills the lacuna (cf., however, note on l. 99); Bury would prefer [σᾷ βο]ίᾳ. On the allusion in πολέμῳ τελευ[ταί]ῳ cf. introd. p. 17.

106. Blass wished to omit the final ς of *προβι[βά]ζοις* and so make Apollo the subject instead of Abderus. This may be right, but the mutilation of ll. 102–5 renders the correction hazardous. Our restoration assumes that the text is sound.

Fr. 5. The fifth line shows that this fragment belongs to the foregoing paean, and it may come either from Col. ii or Col. vii. L. 5, however, cannot be brought into direct connexion with Fr. 2. i. 1 by reading Ἀβδ[ήροις.

III.

4.]οζ[: there has perhaps been some correction, but ο is clear.

8–9. *θυόε[ντα . . .]βωμόν*: cf. Pindar Fr. 75. 3 *ἄστεος ὀμφαλὸν θυόεντα*.

12. There is a small mark rather high above the σ of *αοιδαις*, but it may be meaningless.

13. τ[ί]ν: Apollo is addressed, χρυσο[being an epithet like *χρυσότοξε* or *χρυσοκόμα* or *χρυσοχαῖτα*. There would not be room for a broader letter than ι between τ and ν.

15. Σελάνας: a mention of the moon-goddess seems appropriate in this context. The epithet *ἑλικάμπυξ* is applied to Semele in the only other passage where it occurs in Pindar (Fr. 75. 20).

17. This line is the 100th from II. 25, which is marked in the papyrus as the 900th line in the roll, and therefore κ (= 1000) would be expected to appear in the margin here. Presumably it was inserted at the top of following (lost) column. The extent of the gap after l. 17 is accurately determined by the occurrence of μ (= 1200) in the margin opposite l. 7 of VI. Of the intervening 200 lines, 125 are accounted for in the papyrus; there are therefore (assuming that the μ is correctly placed with relation to the ι at II. 25) 75 lines missing, i. e. 5 columns of 15 lines each. Since the strophe of III contains at least 18 lines, it is improbable that the 102 lines which separate II and IV were divided among two poems, and it may be safely concluded that the first 10 lines of Col. xv belong to III.

94. χαλκ]έοπ': cf. note on II. 100. The superscribed variant *αὐλῶν* is more probably right than *αὐλόν*.

95. Schol. The letter between the supposed λ and υ seems to have been altered, but is probably intended for ο; there is not room for [κτ]ίλου. δ might replace λ, and perhaps ἰδοῦ should be read.

99.]ολατ[. . .] may well be -οι]ο Λατ[οῦς], but a combination with Fr. 28 *ὦ βαθυζ[ώνοι]ο Λατ[οῦς] | ἰήιε παῖ* (cf. Pindar Fr. 89 *βαθύζωνόν τε Λατώ*) is shown by the recto to be inadmissible. Fr. 47 (*βαθ]υζών[οι]ο*) is also unsuitable.

101.]δο[τ]ε: or]δ' ἅ[γ]ε?

IV. For the Ceans to Delos.

1–2. Blass suggests the very attractive restoration [*Τὸν ἀκειρεκόμαν τε καὶ*] *Ἄρτεμιν*, [*ὦ Δᾶλε, Λατώ τε χορε*]*ύσομαι*, comparing *Isthm.* i. 7–8 *καὶ τὸν ἀκειρεκόμαν Φοῖβον χορεύων ἐν Κέῳ ἀμφιρύτᾳ σὺν ποντίοις ἀνδράσιν*, which is most probably a reference to the present paean. The future *χορεύσομαι* occurs in Aesch. *Ag.* 31.

3.]ος is probably the termination of a participle -*όμεν*]ος.

4. The adscript σατο indicates a variant *ἐδνώσατο*. It is in a different hand from the rest of the note; cf. p. 15.

12. The accent on *αγακλεα* is somewhat doubtful.

13. The sense of the scholium is plain, though its right restoration is a matter of uncertainty. The slight vestiges before ια suit μ better than α, and *μία* is therefore preferable to Καρθ]αία.

14. *ἑλα*]*χύνωτον*: or *βρα*]*χύνωτον* (oracle *ap.* Strabo vi. 262), when some other supplement than *ἀλαθέως*, which is somewhat long for the supposed size of the lacuna, will become necessary.

15. It is noticeable that the letters *ωνοσα* occur in the same position of the corresponding verse of the second strophe, l. 36.

16. Perhaps *πεδ*]*έχειν*: cf. l. 37 where *πεδέχειν* stands in a corresponding verse, and note on l. 15.

20. *ἰχθύσιν* is an allusion to the fishing industry of the Ceans; cf. the passage from *Isthm.* i quoted in note on ll. 1–2.

21–53. 'Verily though I live on a rock I am known for prowess in Hellenic contests, and known for some display of the Muses' art; verily too my acres bear a measure of Bacchus' life-giving cure in extremity. I have not horses nor share in the pasturage of kine; but neither would Melampus leave his fatherland to lord it in Argos, nor lay aside his gift of divination. Hail, hail, O Paean! The city and comrades of a man's home and his kinsmen are dear, and bring contentment. In happiness remote from foolish men I praise the words of lord Euxantius, who when his fellows were eager refused to rule or to take the seventh share of a hundred cities along with the sons of Pasiphaë; and he spake to them his prophecy: "I fear war with Zeus, I fear the crashing Shaker of Earth. With thunderbolt and trident sent they once the land and its whole host to the depths of Tartarus, but left my mother and all her well-fenced house. Then shall I, in pursuit of wealth and thrusting aside into utter neglect the decree of the blessed ones for our country, have elsewhere a great possession? How would this be quite secure for me? Dwell not, my heart, on the cypress-grove, dwell not on the pastures of Ida! To me little is given, a mere shrub of oak, but I have no lot in trouble or strife."'

22–3. For the hypallage of Ἑλλανίσιν which in sense belongs to *ἀέθλων* cf. e.g. *Pyth.* vi. 5 Πυθιόνικος ὕμνων θησαυρός. The athletic prowess of the Ceans is emphasized in Bacchyl. ii. 6 sqq. *ὅσ' ἐν κλεεννῷ αὐχένι Ἰσθμοῦ . . . ἐπεδείξαμεν ἑβδομήκοντα σὺν στεφάνοισιν*, vi. 5–7 *Κέον ἄεισάν πυτ' Ὀλυμπίᾳ πύξ τε καὶ στάδιον κρατεῦ̣σαν*]; their service to the Muses was witnessed by the illustrious names of Simonides and Bacchylides.

24. The scribe at this point changed or mended his pen; the writing in the first three lines of the column is markedly larger and coarser than those which follow.

25. Only a tip of the letter before *και* remains, but *η* is not enough to fill the space, and *ηι* was probably written by mistake, although the smooth breathing shows that there was no confusion with *ἦ*. The breathing, however, is imperfectly preserved, and might be taken for the second half of a superscribed *η*, in which case something other than *η* must be supposed to have stood before *και*.

Διω[νύσ]ου: we owe this reading to Mr. Nairn, who suggested Διο[νύσ]ου, comparing Bacchyl. vi. 5 *ἀμπελοτρόφον Κέον*. After *δι* any round letter would suit the remains, but only *ο* or *ω* will give any likely word. *Διό̣[θεν π]ου* is a possible but less attractive alternative. *Διο̣[σδότ]ου* would be an unlikely epithet of *ἀμαχανίας*, and *Διό̣[ρτ]ου*, besides being unattested, would not fill the lacuna.

26. *βιόδωρον*: cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1162 *βιόδωρος αἶα*. The scholiast's explanation 'given to life' is not happy.

28–30. This is not the ordinary form of the myth concerning Melampus as given e.g. in Hdt. ix. 34, Apollod. i. 9. 12. 8, which represents him as sharing with his brother Bias in the sovereignty of Argos. It is, however, noticeable that the later kings of Argos traced descent from Bias through Adrastus, not from Melampus. Besides *Pyth.* iv. 126 there is a reference to Melampus in 426. 12 *ἐξ Ἄργευς Μελάμ[πους*, which may be Pindaric. Μελάμπος is accented in the papyrus as if it were Μελάμπους.

29. *πατρ̣[ί]δα*: sc. Pylos.

29–30. There is a break in the papyrus after *αργει*, but sufficient margin remains after the *ι* to indicate pretty clearly that the line is complete. It is therefore inadmissible to read [*ἀπο*]*θέμενος*; but though *τίθεσθαι* in the sense of *ἀποτίθεσθαι* is not found elsewhere in Pindar, such a use does not seem impossible; cf. the phrase *θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα* meaning to lay down one's arms, and Aristoph. *Lysist.* 312 *θώμεσθα δὴ τὸ φορτίον*. Or, as Bury observes, *θέμενος* may be taken outside the negative and mean 'having made his own, adopted'; cf. *παῖδα θέσθαι*, &c.

34. The letter after *δ* is either *ε* or *ο*.

35. ἄν]ακτος: cf. e. g. *Nem.* iii. 33 Πηλεὺς ἄναξ, *Pyth.* iv. 89 Ἐφιάλτα ἄναξ. But the reading is very doubtful, and we adopt it without much confidence. The surface of the papyrus is damaged, and if κ is right, it must be supposed that the lower diagonal stroke has entirely disappeared, giving the letter more the appearance of ν. The α also is not very satisfactory, for rather more than the speck which actually survives would be expected to be visible. We had also thought of [ἔτ'] αὐτός, but that is a weak alternative.

Εὐξαν[τίου: some fresh light is thrown in the following passage upon the legend of Euxantius, which was treated at length in the unfortunately mutilated first ode of Bacchylides. An outline of the story is given in some scholia on the *Ibis* of Ovid, where it is said that Macello (Macedo, Macelo) and the other daughters of Damon had showed hospitality to Jupiter, and were therefore spared by him when he destroyed the Telchines, of whom Damon was the chief. Subsequently Minos arrived, and became the father of Euxantius by Dexithea (Dexione, Dexithone), one of Macello's sisters. The poem of Bacchylides (written for a Cean victor) begins to give a connected sense at the point when Minos arrives in Ceos and weds Dexithea; his treatment of the earlier part of the story can be only vaguely conjectured from a few scattered fragments. But there is one other reference to this legend which has an important bearing upon the present passage of Pindar. It occurs in Nonnus, *Dionys.* xviii. ll. 35–8, which in the MSS. run as follows:—

Ζῆνα καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα μιῇ ξείνισσε Μακέλλων
* * * * *
καὶ Φλεγύας ὅτε πάντας ἀνερρίζωσε θαλάσσῃ
νῆσον ὅλην τριόδοντι διαρρήξας Ἐνοσίχθων
ἀμφοτέρας ἐφύλαξε καὶ οὐ πρήνιξε τριαίνῃ.

There is a lacuna between ll. 35 and 36, which contained a substantive agreeing with μιῇ, and the only necessary alteration in the traditional text is the simple correction of Μακέλλων to Μακελλώ. The emendations adopted in A. Köchly's Teubner edition (1857), τραπέζῃ for Μακέλλων and ἀμφοτέρους for ἀμφοτέρας, are put out of court, as Jebb remarks (*Bacchylides*, p. 444), by the *Ibis* scholia. But what are the Phlegyae doing in this context? Jebb suggests (*l. c.*) that Nonnus here alluded to two distinct legends: (*a*) the destruction of the Telchines by Zeus, (*b*) that of the Phlegyae by Poseidon (Euphor. Fr. 154 ap. Servius *Aen.* vi. 618 *iratus Neptunus percussit tridente eam partem insulae quem Phlegyae tenebant, et omnes obruit*). But the striking similarity of language in the lines of Nonnus and the present passage of Pindar (cf. νῆσον ὅλην . . . ἐφύλαξε with ll. 41–5 below) strongly suggests that if Nonnus was not copying Pindar, he was at any rate following the same tradition. The νῆσος can hardly be other than Ceos, and unless the appearance of the Phlegyae is to be ascribed to a confusion on the part of Nonnus, which would be a rash assumption, it must be concluded that one form of the legend brought the Phlegyae and Telchines together at Ceos, and represented their destruction by Zeus and Poseidon as simultaneous.

The introduction of Euxantius into this paean shows that the obscurity of the myth is somewhat exaggerated by Jebb (*Bacchylides*, p. 449). Bacchylides' reference to Ceos as Εὐξαντίδα νᾶσον (ii. 8) might of itself be taken to imply a rather wider currency than Jebb admits. Euxantius' refusal to leave Ceos for a share in the kingdom of Minos, as narrated here by Pindar, is an entirely novel feature.

36. ἐπαίνεσ': the corresponding word in the antistrophe (l. 46) also begins with the syllable ἐπ-; cf. note on l. 15.

37. ἑκατόν: cf. *Iliad* B 649 Κρήτην ἑκατόμπολιν.

38. μέρος ἕβδομον: Pasiphaë is credited with four sons, one of whom, Androgeos, predeceased his father Minos (Apollod. iii. 15. 5–7). If Pasiphaë's sons had a double

portion, a seventh share would remain for Euxantius. But Minos had more children by another marriage.

The transposition of the second syllable of νί[οι]σιν is required for the correspondence with l. 48. Blass thought that it would be an improvement to place the final syllable -σιν also in this line, and transfer μοι in l. 49 to the previous verse. At the end of the second line of the scholium Πα[σ]ιφά[η] is a possible reading, but the letters are much mutilated.

39. τέρας may be explained as referring to divine interposition described in ll. 42–5, and there is no need to emend to γέρας.

42–4. Cf. note on l. 35.

44. ματέρα: i. e. Dexithea; cf. note on l. 35, Bacchyl. i. c. 8, Apollod. iii. 1. 2.

46. πλούτου πειρῶν: cf. *Nem.* v. 30–1 νυμφείας ἐπείρα . . . εὐνᾶς.

48. A point has been inserted immediately below the line between ω and λ, this being the only instance in the papyrus of the use of a low stop. If [πῶ]ς (Bury) is rightly restored in l. 49 the neuter ἔμπεδον must be taken as referring vaguely to the preceding sentence. Blass proposed to read [σῶ]ς (cf. Pindar Fr. 221) and insert οὐ before λίαν, ἔμπεδον being adverbial as in *Pyth.* x. 34 ὧν θαλίαις ἔμπεδον . . . Ἀπόλλων χαίρει. The abnormal accentuation of ἐχώ might be explained as a survival of the lost negative; but the punctuation would make the synizesis of ἔχω; ⟨οὐ⟩ particularly awkward, and the sentence ⟨οὐ⟩ . . . κεν would be weak. To read [σῶ]ς without ⟨οὐ⟩ and regard the words as ironical is also unsatisfactory.

The quantity of ι in λίαν may vary, but it is short in the only other Pindaric instance (*Pyth.* i. 90), and is more likely to be the same here. There is a similar ambiguity in the corresponding syllable of the strophe l. 38 νί[οι]- (for the short quantity cf. e. g. *Nem.* vi. 25 νιέων).

49. [πῶ]ς: the corresponding syllable in l. 39 is short, but there is no great objection to a *syllaba anceps* here, and the difficulty would be still slighter if μοι were transposed to the end of the preceding verse; cf. note on l. 38.

50–3 = Pindar Fr. 154, quoted by Plutarch, *De exil.* 9. p. 602, where the MS. tradition is now shown to be very corrupt. The lines there appear in the following form: ἐλαφρὰν κυπάρισσον φιλέειν ἐᾶν δὲ νομὸν Κρήτας περιδαίων· ἐμοὶ δ' ὀλίγον μὲν γᾶς δέδοται, ὀθεν ἄρυς, πενθέων δ' οὐκ ἔλαχον οὐδὲ στασίων. Hermann altered περιδαίων to περιδαῖον, but that rather obvious correction is the only one proposed by modern editors which is confirmed by the papyrus, and the passage affords a good illustration of the precariousness of the attempt to emend lyrics where the metre is uncertain. The genesis of some of the corruptions is now apparent: φιλέειν was added to explain ἔα, and the proximity of this infinitive led to ἐᾶν δέ for ἔα δε. The construction being thus obscured ἔα φρήν (φράν) would easily become ἐλαφράν, which fits in with the general sense of the passage (*simplices liberalium hominum deliciae*, says Schroeder); and Κρήτας no doubt came in from the margin; cf. the scholium of the papyrus. With regard to the latter part of Plutarch's citation the new evidence is somewhat ambiguous, but fortunately just sufficient is preserved to enable, with the help of the metre, a satisfactory restoration to be made. At first sight, what remains of the two topmost lines of Col. xix appears to belong to the main text, the writing being of the normal size; but to this view there are grave objections.]δοται must represent Plutarch's δέδοται, which is required by the metre in the middle of the verse, as also is ἔλαχον in the second line. But in the first place the break down the left side of the papyrus follows a practically straight line, and therefore something of lines 54 and 56, containing 10 and 12 syllables respectively, would be expected to remain; the papyrus, however, is blank until l. 58 is reached, where before]περι as many as 13 syllables have to be supplied. This disproportion is too great to be accounted for by collocations of vowels or variations in the size of the writing (cf. note on l. 24). Secondly, there is not sufficient

room in the lacunae to the right of ll. 52–3 for the completion of the verses. We therefore prefer to suppose that the remnants of ll. 52–3 are marginal variants added by the first hand, in favour of which, moreover, there is the positive consideration that before λαχο[in l. 53 is a blank space large enough for 1½–2 letters. The size of the writing is no doubt something of a difficulty; but analogous cases occur at V. 38, VI. 83, 172, Fr. 20. 28, where marginalia have been written by the original scribe in letters not appreciably smaller than those of the accompanying text.

To turn to the reconstruction of these two lines, modern criticism has rightly been suspicious of *ὅθεν ἄδρυς*, which produced no tolerable sense, and is now shown not to scan; but attempts at emendation have been wide of the mark. After *δέ]δοται* the papyrus has a clear *θ* followed by a curved stroke, which pretty certainly represents either *α* or *ω*, and given the metrical conditions (– – ∪ ⏑) Blass's *θάμνος δρυός* seems convincing; this involves the ejection of the superfluous *μὲν γᾶς*, which was no doubt added as an explanation of *ὀλίγον*. To alter *ὀλίγον* to *ὀλίγος* is unnecessary, and the suitability of the epithet might be called in question. A certain species of oak is still the characteristic tree of Ceos, and the acorns are the chief commercial product of the island. The metre of the last verse may be restored by means of a few simple alterations. What stood in the original text in place of *δέδοται θάμνος* remains a riddle which is not likely to be solved. The *θ* above *χ* of λάχο[ν is also difficult. There is a dot to the left of it (to the right is a lacuna) indicating an alternative reading; for a similar variant on a variant cf. V. 38. (ἔ)λαθον would not give a sense. As for λάχο[ν, the writer may merely have wished to emphasize the possibility of the division *δὲ λάχον* as against *δ' ἔλαχον*, and it is therefore unnecessary to suppose that a different verb figured in the text.

In connexion with *κυπάρισσον* and the remark of the scholiast it may be noted that, as Bury reminds us, the Cretan *μέλαθρον* at Delphi mentioned in *Pyth.* v. 39 sqq. is described as *κυπαρίσσινον*.

58. Ζη(νόδοτος): cf. VI. 55, &c., and note on II. 61. The reading of the variant here attributed to Zenodotus is unfortunately doubtful. The δ may be α, and the diagonal stroke of the supposed ν has disappeared, what actually remains suggesting rather ρι. It is noteworthy that κεαρ . [apparently occurs three lines below, where a proper name is expected. But no name Κεάριος or Κέδριος is known, and Κεάριον ἦρω' would not scan in l. 58. There is a further difficulty about the ω of ηρω, the left-hand half of the letter having vanished, while the surface of the papyrus is apparently intact. If not ω, the mark in question must be simply a mis-shapen point, and κεδνὸν ἦρ could be read; but this is an unsatisfactory alternative.

60. We can find no other trace of this statement concerning the sons of Euxantius. A Κέος in Salamis is mentioned by Hdt. viii. 76 *οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι*, another in Boeotia by Lysimachus in Schol. Soph. *O. C.* 91, but both were quite obscure. Κέων for Κέω cannot be read.

61. κεαρ . [and υἱό(ς) κ.τ.λ. below are in a different hand from that of τινὲ]ς . . . κατ]ῴκησαν. κεαρ . [may be a personal name, but the writing is indistinct, and there is possibly a correction. The letter after ρ may be ι; cf. note on l. 58. Ὀνείτης was a son of Heracles and Deianira, but he does not seem to fit in with the context. For ἀ]ν(τὶ τοῦ) cf. e. g. l. 4; an alternative restoration is Ἀρ(ιστοφά)]ν(ης), but in the other probable instances of that name the ν is not written above the line; cf. note on II. 61.

V. To Delos.

1. Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 154 *ἰήιε Δάλιε Παιάν.*

15. A verse has dropped out here. Possibly the marginal insertion opposite l. 45, Παυδώρου Ἐρεχ(θέος) αἶκλον, is misplaced and really gives part of it, for those words have no bearing on the context there, and they happen to coincide metrically with the conclusion of the missing line. αἶκλον is obscure; *αἶκλος* according to Hesychius meant *αἱ γωνίαι τοῦ βέλους, αἶκλον* was a Lacedaemonian word for *δεῖπνον.* Pandorus was a son of Erechtheus; cf. Apollod. iii. 15. 1.

35–48. '. . . they took Euboea and dwelt there. O Apollo of Delos, to whom we cry! They made homes in the scattered isles where the sheep abound, and laid hands on far-famed Delos, for Apollo of the golden locks gave them the body of Asteria to inhabit. O Apollo of Delos, to whom we cry! There may the children of Leto graciously receive me your servant, to the honeyed sounding strains of a glorious paean.'

36. *ἕλον*: the subject is *οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶν Ἴωνες,* as indicated by the context and the remains of the scholium opposite l. 35.

38. There is little to choose between the alternatives *φερεμήλους* and *πολυμήλους,* though in favour of the latter must be set the fact that this compound occurs twice elsewhere in Pindar (*Ol.* i. 12, *Pyth.* ix. 6) whereas *φερέμηλος* is not otherwise recorded. The MSS. show the same variation in the spelling of *-μηλος* at *Ol.* i. 12, but the form with *η* is preferable.

39. The scribe began to write a round letter after *ερικυδεα* and then corrected it to a *τ.*

40. *ων* in *απολλων* corr.

42. *Ἀστερίας δέμας* = *Δῆλον.* Asteria, sister of Leto, was turned into the island of Delos, which is sometimes called simply Asteria, e. g. Callim. *Del.* 300; cf. Fr. 19. ll. 21 sqq. below, and Nonnus 42. 410 *Ἀστερίην δ' ἐδίωκε καὶ ἔπλετο νῆσος ἐρήμη.*

44. *ἐνθά με*: trochaic (and sometimes also spondaic) words followed by enclitics received two accents according to the grammarians, and instances of such accentuation are found in MSS.: cf. Kühner-Blass I. p. 341. Other examples in this papyrus occur at VI. 87 and 132, Fr. 93. 4; cf. the Berlin Corinna papyrus, *Berl. Klassikertexte* V. (2) xiv. 1. 16 *τανίκά νιν,* 2. 89 *δάκρυ τε.*

45. Cf. *Pyth.* viii. 18 *εὐμενεῖ νόῳ Ξενάρκειον ἔδεκτο.* On the marginal addition cf. note on l. 15.

48. The papyrus is so rubbed that no part of the addition in the margin, which is in a good-sized hand, is clear. It is doubtful whether there were really letters at the two places marked by dots outside the brackets, the traces of ink at those points being very slight.

VI. 'For the Delphians to Pytho.'

1–19. 'By Zeus of Olympus I pray thee, golden Pytho famed for prophecy, and ye Graces and Aphrodite, to receive me at the sacred season, the spokesman of the tuneful Pierides. For I hear that there are wanting men to dance to the music of the Castalian fount by the brazen-gated stream, and am therefore come relieving thy townsmen's need, and furthering mine own honour. I have obeyed my heart as a child his kind mother, and gone down to Apollo's grove, the home of garlands and festivity, where oft by the shady pivot of earth the maidens of Delphi beat the ground with nimble foot as they sing of the son of Leto.'

1–6 = Pindar Fr. 90, quoted by Aelius Aristides ii. 160 (ed. Keil). Hartung was right in attributing the lines to a paean, but wrong in connecting them with Pindar Fr. 148. A marginal asterisk similar to that here occurs at the end of a poem in the Bacchylides papyrus vii. 54 (Facsimile Col. xiv).

3. λίσσομαι Χαρίτεσσι(ν): ἄ(ι)σομαι Χάριτές (or -άς) τε MSS., emended by W. Canter.

5. χρόνῳ, the traditional reading (χώρῳ U, Boeckh) accepted by Keil and Schroeder, is confirmed by the papyrus; θρόνῳ Schneidewin, Ty. Mommsen, Christ, χορῷ Bergk, Hartung. ζάθεος χρόνος here means, as Keil points out, the season of the Pythian festival (ἱερομηνία ἁ Πυθιάς, C. I. G. 1688. 44, &c.); cf. *Nem.* iii. 2 ἐν ἱερομηνίᾳ Νεμεάδι, and the Delphic paean to Dionysus, *B.C.H.* xix. 393 sqq., ll. 3–4 ἠρινα[ῖς ἱκοῦ ταῖσδ᾽] ἱεραῖς ἐν ὥραις. The syllable -νῳ occurs in the same position of a corresponding verse at l. 87, and -ονω- at l. 127. Other similar correspondences in this paean are ll. 6 and 128 -αν, 10 and 132 -ων, 12 and 134 παῖς, 15 and 137 τόθι τότε, 16 and 138 κόραι κόμαι, 17 and 139 παρὰ σκιόεντα κατάσκιον, 88 and 128 ἄκναμπτον ἄδορπον, 98 and 138 -ρος; cf. ll. 51 and 112 θεοῖσι [θε]ός.

6. Either ἀοίδιμον (so Aristid. MSS.) or ἀοιδίμων may be genuine. The interlinear ω is not certainly by the first hand. Πιερίων for Πιερίδων MSS., emended by Canter. For προφάταν cf. Bacchyl. viii. 3 Μουσᾶν . . . προφάτας.

7. The marginal μ marks the 1200th line; cf. II. 25, and note on III. 17. The brazen lions' heads mentioned by the scholiast do not appear to be otherwise known; that he calls the stream the Cephisus, which was on the northern side of Parnassus, is also strange.

8–9. A meaning somewhat different from that given in our translation would be obtained by connecting Κασταλίας with ὕδατι and ψόφον with χορεύσιος: 'I hear a sound of dancing in which men are unrepresented,' i. e. the maidens dance alone (cf. ll. 15 sqq.). This construction is preferred by Bury.

10. Of the variants ἀ[λ]έξων, the reading first written, seems the best (cf. e. g. *Ol.* xiii. 9 ἀλέξειν Ὕβριν); ἀρήγειν is used in the same way by Aeschylus and Euripides (e. g. *Med.* 1275 ἀρῆξαι φόνον . . . τέκνοις), but not by Pindar. ἀέξων would not give the requisite sense. κατὰ κοινο[ῦ] in the marginal note below refers to the zeugmatic use in this passage of ἀλέξειν, which with the acc. means 'ward off' and with the dat. 'assist.' The rough breathing on the ε of ἔταις in the papyrus is unusual.

14. τροφόν is far preferable to the marginal κλυτόν. Cf. II. 63 and *Pyth.* i. 1–2.

18. The correction of κροτεί[ντι to κροτέοντι is necessary *metri gratia*. With ποδὶ . . . [θοᾷ] cf. II. 99 χορὸν [ταχύ]ποδα: [ταχε]ῖ here would be less suitable to the size of the lacuna.

50. Perhaps ἀθαι[άτοις ἔρις] (Bury), with a reference to ll. 87–9, or δῆρις for ἔρις if the shortened final syllable of εὐρυφαρέτραν in l. 111 is regarded as illegitimate; cf. note *ad loc.*

51–65. 'The gods are able to persuade the wise of these things, but for mortals it is impossible to find the way. But since ye have received this as your ordained right, O maidens sharing alike in all things with your father whom the dark clouds hide and Mnemosyne, hear me now: my tongue is fain to pay its best and sweetest honey-tribute when I have gone down to the broad lists of Loxias at the festival of the gods. For sacrifice is made for All-Hellas the glorious, which the Delphic folk prayed (to be saved from?) famine . . .'

51. θεοῖσι is a disyllable, if l. 112 is rightly restored. It is noticeable that the scansion of [θ]εός in that line is similar.

52. πιθεῖν is metrically preferable to πείθειν if the restoration of l. 113 is correct.

54. The end of this line is a crux. μή[ι]σαι is inevitable, since μο, though imperfect, is practically certain, and ο and σ are so close together that there is room for only a very

narrow letter between them. Since the Muses are evidently addressed it seems obvious at first sight to write Μο[ι]σαι; but then the difficulty is to find a plausible restitution of the preceding dactyl and a construction for πάντα in l. 55. It is simpler to suppose that μο[ι]σαι is the termination of a feminine participle in agreement with παρθένοι and governing πάντα. Yet even on this hypothesis some alteration of the text appears necessary. The letter after ισ, if not ο must be another σ, which gives no word. At a short distance from this is a vertical stroke which we suppose is the second upright of an ν; it might also be γ, ι, τ, υ, or the first half of ν or π. With any of these letters, however, with the doubtful exception of τ, there will be a short preceding lacuna to be filled (e.g. ισο[.]ι[), and the metre will be wrong. To the reading adopted there is the objection that part of the diagonal stroke of a ν would be expected to be visible; but the surface of the papyrus is damaged, and the diagonal stroke may have been drawn somewhat higher than usual. If εὔφρον' in l. 115 be scanned as a disyllable, as written in the papyrus, the alternatives remain of regarding ἰσο . . μοισαι as a compound verb, in which case the termination is incorrect (? ἰσον[ο]μ⟨έ⟩ο[ι]σαι: cf. e.g. *Isthm.* viii. 35 ἀδελφεοῖσιν, and Bacchyl. i. 34, where the papyrus has]ȝολοῖ for]ȝολέοι): or of supposing ἰσ . . to conceal ἴσα and reading ἴσ⟨α⟩ [νέ]μο[ι]σαι, the sense of νέμειν being the same as e.g. in *Ol.* ii. 12 ὦ Κρόνιε παῖ Ῥέας, ἕδος Ὀλύμπου νέμων. But the ι of ἴσος is short elsewhere in Pindar, though it is lengthened in the compound ἰσοδαίμων, *Nem.* iv. 84; and hence we have adopted with some hesitation Bury's proposal to write ἐΰφρον' in l. 115 and insert γε after ἴσον. The errors in the papyrus are commonly due to omission of letters; and diaeresis is neglected e.g. in l. 77.

55. Only the top of the supposed η of [Z]η(νόδοτος) survives. A variant κελανεφεῖ seems to be indicated, but κελαινεφεῖ produces the right correspondence with l. 116. κελαινεφής is a Homeric epithet of Zeus not elsewhere so used by Pindar. The Muses were the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne; cf. Fr. 16. 11 below.

57. τεθ]μόν: sc. the inspiration of poets, τὸ πιθεῖν σοφούς (l. 52).

58. A comparison with l. 119 shows that the mark of short quantity above νυν is erroneous.

59. προχέειν εἰς is only one of several possible restorations; κελαδῆσαι e.g. would also be suitable, εἰς being unnecessary with καταβάντα (cf. *Pyth.* iv. 55 Πύθιον ναὸν καταβάντα). A difficulty, however, is raised by the note ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) ἀώτου, which would seem to imply that its author did not construct ἄωτον with an infinitive coming after γλυκύν. The reading of Zenodotus is unfortunately beyond recovery; it ends with a sloping dash which might mark an abbreviation or belong to an hastily written ν. For the language of l. 59 cf. *Isthm.* i. 51 γλώσσας ἄωτον, and *Ol.* v. 1 ἄωτον γλυκύν.

60. εἰρύν shows that ἀγῶνα has a local signification as e.g. in *Ol.* x. 24 ἀγῶνα . . . Διώς, ὃν ἀρχαίῳ σάματι πὰρ Πέλοπος . . . ἐκτίσσατο. The analogy of this and other passages is in favour of the correction Δοξία.

61. θεῶν ξενίᾳ = Θεοξενίοις. In the following lines the institution of this festival is referred to the occasion of a famine,—a fact explained in the mutilated scholium but apparently not otherwise recorded. The local cults of Apollo were frequently brought into connexion with deliverance from such visitations, e.g. Pausan. i. 3. 4, where a statue to Apollo ἀλεξίκακος is said to commemorate the plague in the Peloponnesian war, and viii. 41. 8, where Apollo ἐπικούριος at Bassae is explained as ἐπικουρήσαντι ἐν νόσῳ λοιμώδει; cf. also schol. on l. 125 below.

68–9. Fr. 48 would in some ways be suitable here,—Κρόν[ιε ∪ ∪ ∪ παῖ] μακάρων | πρύτανι (cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 169 μακάρων πρύτανις), but the difference in the colour of the papyrus and the disparity in the size of the writing are decisive against this combination.

72. [Πυ]θωνόθ[εν: cf. *Pyth.* v. 105. The transposition of the first syllable from the

preceding verse is required by the metre; l. 93, the corresponding verse in the antistrophe, as originally written was also a syllable short.

74. Πάνθοος was a priest of Apollo at Delphi and subsequently at Troy; cf. Verg. *Aen.* ii. 319 sqq. For Δαναῶν κ.τ.λ. cf. *Isthm.* iii. 54 (iv. 36) παίδεσσιν Ελλάνων, ὅσοι Τροίανδ' ἔβαν.

75. For the shortened first syllable in Τρωΐα cf. e. g. *Nem.* iv. 25, where the MSS. have Τρωΐαν as an anapaest. But several editors substitute Τροΐαν, and the interlineation in the papyrus shows that the question between ω and ο in such cases is an ancient one. A shortened ω (with no variant) occurs in l. 178 πα]τρωΐαν or Τρωΐαν.

77. πάϊς [Ζηνός: i. e. Athene; cf. *Ol.* xiii. 77 Ζηνὸς ἐγχεικεραύνου παῖς and, for the allusion to Diomedes, *Iliad* E 115 sqq. The occurrence of πάϊς as a disyllable here is of interest in connexion with the corrupt passage in *Ol.* ii. 76, where πάϊς has been conjectured, and 659. 70 (Pindar, *Partheneion*), where the probability of the vocative πάϊ is now increased.

78–123. '(Diomedes), whom the far-darting god in the mortal form of Paris smote with an arrow and estopped from battle. And straightway he put off the capture of Ilium, quelling by a bold deed of blood the doughty son of dark-tressed Thetis of the sea, the trusty defence of the Achaeans. What was his strife with white-armed Hera, as he matched against her his invincible power, what with Polias! In return for their great pains they would have razed the city of Dardanus, had not Apollo been on guard. But Zeus, the ruler of the gods, seated on the golden clouds and peaks of Olympus, dared not relax the decrees of fate: for high-coifed Helen's sake must the flaming fire's ray blot out wide Pergamon. And when they had placed in the sore-lamented tomb the mighty corse of the son of Peleus, went messengers over the sea-waves and came again bringing from Scyros Neoptolemus, great in strength, who sacked the city of Ilion. Yet saw he not thereafter his kind mother, nor roused he forth in the fields of his fathers the horses of the Myrmidons, a brass-accoutred host. He reached the Molossian land hard by Tomarus; but he escaped not the winds nor the far-darter with the broad quiver. For the god swore that he who killed aged Priam when he had sprung upon the altar in the court should come to no comfortable path in life nor reach old age; and he slew him, as he strove with the attendants about their allotted rights, in his beloved enclosure by the broad pivot of the earth. Oh hail, hail! Now for the paean in full measure! Oh hail, ye youths!'

78–80. Cf. *Iliad* Λ 369 sqq. Homer, however, does not ascribe the wounding of Diomedes by Paris to any special intervention of Apollo. The α of δεμαι is corrected. For ἑ[καβόλος cf. l. 111 below; the rough breathing is probable, but not certain.

81. Either Ἰλίῳ or Ἰλίου may stand. The genitive is more natural, but it would therefore be less liable to alteration.

83. The metre shows κυανοπλόκοιο to be the right reading. Both κυανόπλοκος and κυανόκομος are ἅπαξ εἰρημένα. κυανοπλόκαμος is a favourite word of Bacchylides.

84. A dot has been placed above and below the δ in θετιδος indicating that it should be omitted. Θέτιος is the Pindaric form; cf. *Ol.* ix. 76, *Isthm.* viii. 52.

87–9. For ὅσσα . . . ὅσα cf. *Ol.* xiii. 107 Ἄργει θ' ὅσσα καὶ ἐν Θήβαις, ὅσα τ' . . . μαρτυρήσει. In the *Iliad* Apollo appears consistently on the side of the Trojans, Athene on that of the Greeks.

87. ἔριξε: the Doric aorist is sufficiently common in Pindar, and hardly deserved a note; cf. e. g. l. 133 ἐγγυάλιξεν.

88. Both a grave and an acute accent are placed above the α of αν[.]ρειδων, the former being enclosed between two dots like the letters of variants (e. g. ll. 81 and 83). The

purpose was to indicate a choice between the alternative readings ἀι[τ]ρείδων (grave accent) and ἄι[τ'(α)] ἐρείδων (acute). Editors write ἀντερείσαις in *Pyth.* iv. 37. A similar double accent is found in IX. 17.

89. ὅσα: the variant ὅσσα attributed to Aristophanes implies a *syllaba anceps* at the beginning of the verse, but the syllable is short in the other surviving instances, ll. 7, 68, and 129.

πρό = ἀντί, a sense found in a line of Philemon δοῦλος πρὸ δούλου, δεσπότης πρὸ δεσπότου according to Bekker, *Anecd.* p. 112; cf. προῦργου. *Ol.* x. 23 ἔργων πρὸ πάντων βίοτῳ φάος is perhaps a parallel; ἀντὶ πόνων occurs in *Isthm.* v. 25.

91. ἔπραθ⟨α⟩ν: επραθεν Pap., but there seems to be no reason, as Bury observes, for dissociating Hera and Athene here, and the singular may easily have come in from the adjacent verbs.

92–3. The final ο of ολυμποιο was added at the beginning of l. 93 after κ was written. The omission may have been simply an oversight; but the papyrus is damaged at the end of l. 92, and it is possible that the final ο was at first placed there, and then deleted; cf. note on l. 72. There is no sign of ολυμπου having been the original reading.

94. ἀνα[λ]ύεν: for the Doric infin. cf. IX. 36 συνάγεν, *Ol.* i. 3 γαρύεν, *Pyth.* iv. 115 τράφεν. σκοπός is used as in *Nem.* v. 27 Μαγνήτων σκοπόν (Acastus), &c.

95 sqq. Cf. *Pyth.* xi. 33 ἀμφ' Ἑλένᾳ πυρωθέντων Τρώων.

ὑψικόμῳ: cf. *Pyth.* iv. 172 ὑψιχαΐτᾳ, an epithet which according to Boeckh *vigorem et robur indicat*, according to Fennell, who compares Thucydides i. 6. 3, refers to an eastern fashion of wearing the hair. The latter explanation would suit the present passage. The accent on the ο is not quite certain.

96. A small difficulty occurs at the end of this line. The supposed ι is doubtful, but to read εὐρὺ ἀ[ΐ]στῶσαι is unsatisfactory not only on account of the hiatus but because a space between υ and α would remain unaccounted for. Πέργαμος (*Ol.* viii. 42) meaning Troy is always feminine wherever the gender is determinable, and therefore εὐρύ[ν] is inadmissible unless it be here declined as an adjective of two terminations on the analogy of θῆλυς and ἡδύς. On the whole we prefer δι[ᾳ]στῶσαι (Soph. *Trach.* 881), and it is possible that an α was actually written after δι, for though there is no trace of ink the surface of the papyrus is worn. α is long in ἄϊστοῦν in the only other Pindaric instance, *Pyth.* iii. 37.

97. αιθομενος was a slip, perhaps due to πυρος. The ς is practically certain.

99. There was certainly one letter, probably either ι or (better) ν, immediately after -δα, and some traces of ink beyond may belong to a second. Πηλείδαν would be intelligible whether νέκυν was taken adjectivally or in apposition with the proper name; but the genitive is more likely to be correct.

So far as the general appearance of the papyrus and the recto is concerned, Fr. 66 might be placed near the end of this line in the gap between Cols. xxix and xxx; but there is nothing in the scholium which suggests any connexion with the text.

107. The marginal numeral is placed midway between this and the following line; l. 107 is the 100th from the preceding μ (l. 7).

108. As the text stands χαλκ. [δ]μιλον is in apposition with ἵππους. There is not room in the lacuna for [θ' δ]μιλον: perhaps χαλκοκορι[στ]ὶν ⟨θ'⟩[δ]μ. should be read, but the particle is not necessary.

109–10. Cf. *Nem.* vii. 35–7 Πριάμου πόλιν Νεοπτόλεμος ἐπεὶ πράθεν· . . . ὁ δ' ἀποπλέων Σκύρου μὲν ἅμαρτε, πλαγχθέντες δ' εἰς Ἐφύραν ἵκοντο. Μολοσσίᾳ δ' ἐμβασίλευεν ὀλίγον χρόνον. At the end of l. 110 the choice of supplements seems to lie between ἔ[μαθ]εν (cf. *Nem.* vii. 17–8 σοφοὶ δὲ μέλλοντα τριτοῖον ἄνεμον ἔμαθον), and ἔ[λαθ]εν, the former being more suitable to ἀ[νέ]μους, the latter to ἑκα[βο]λον. ἔ[λαθ]εν has the advantage of explaining the mark of short

quantity which is visible above the lost vowel, and might naturally have been added to obviate confusion with ἔληθεν, whereas with ἔμαθεν no mistake could arise. Cf. moreover *Pyth.* iii. 27 ὀνδ' ἔλαθε σκοπόν (sc. Apollo), *Nem.* i. 37 οὐ λαθὼν χρυσόθρονον Ἥραν. The first three lines of the scholium perhaps contained some reference to Aegina or the Aeginetans. It was the following passage concerning the death of Neoptolemus which gave offence in Aegina; cf. note on ll. 117–9 and introd. p. 20. The three lower lines, which are in a different hand, are so nearly effaced that the obliteration seems intentional.

111. The scribe has marked the final syllable of εὐρυφαρέτραν as short, which, if correct, implies the existence of a form in -ᾰ side by side with that in -ᾱς (*Pyth.* ix. 26), as in the case of ἱππότης and ἱππότα; cf. ὀρσοτρίαινᾰν in *Pyth.* ii. 12.

114. Cf. Pausan. iv. 17. 3 Νεοπτολέμῳ γὰρ τῷ Ἀχιλλέως ἀποκτείναντι Πρίαμον ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσχάρᾳ τοῦ Ἑρκείου συνέπεσε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀποσφαγῆναι, and Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 499–553.

115. μιν, *v. l.* νιν: cf. Fr. 19. 24. Fluctuation between the two forms is common in the MSS. of Pindar. Mommsen and Bergk practically eliminate μιν in spite of a consensus of tradition in several passages. μιν stands alone in II. 73, Fr. 19. 26 and Fr. 131. 18, νιν in IV. 15, Fr. 82. 32 and IX. 47.

117–9 = Pindar Fr. 52, preserved in the scholia on *Nem.* vii. 94 καθόλου γὰρ ἀπολογεῖσθαι βούλεται περὶ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου θανάτου πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ᾐτιῶντο τὸν Πίνδαρον ὅτι γράφων Δελφοῖς τὸν παιᾶνα ἔφη ἀμφιπόλοισι μαρνάμενον μυρίαν περὶ τιμὰν ἀπολωλέναι: cf. *ibid.* 150 μεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Αἰγινητῶν ἐπὶ τῷ δοκεῖν ἐν παιᾶσιν εἰπεῖν τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον ἐπὶ ἱεροσυλίᾳ ἐληλυθέναι εἰς Δελφούς, νῦν ὥσπερ ἀπολογεῖται εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐχ ἱεροσυλῶν ἐτελεύτησεν ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ κρεῶν φιλοτιμηθεὶς ἀνῃρέθη. The papyrus proves the antiquity of the mis-spelling μυριᾶν which Boeckh, comparing the following words of the schol. on *Nem.* vii. 94 οὐκ ἔφησε . . . ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν νομιζομένων τιμῶν τοῖς Δελφοῖς, was the first to correct to μοιριᾶν. The letter after υ is not indeed certain, but the remains suit ρ better than any other letter and are not consistent with θ. μυριᾶν cannot be defended; and the choice rests between Boeckh's emendation and the reading attributed in the margin of the papyrus to Zenodotus, Πυθιᾶν. The latter gives an excellent sense and may well be right, but it appears on the whole more probable that Πυθιᾶν was an attempt to emend μυριᾶν than that μυριᾶν was a corruption of an original Πυθιᾶν. The interchange of υ and οι is too common to require illustration. μαρνάμενον, if not to be explained by the supposition that the citation was made from memory, must be a gloss on [δηρι]αζόμενον. δηριάζομαι is not attested, δηριάομαι (δῃρίομαι, *Ol.* xiii. 44) being the regular form; but we can suggest no more satisfactory restoration: ἀντιάζειν is not used in the middle voice.

For κ[ρ]εῶν in the note opposite these lines cf. *Nem.* vii. 42 κρεῶν νιν ὕπερ μάχας ἔλασεν ἀντιτυχόντ' ἀνὴρ μαχαίρᾳ, and Schol. on l. 150 quoted above, which also illustrates ἢ τῶν χρημάτων κ.τ.λ.

119–20. The size of the lacuna shows that a syllable is missing at the beginning of l. 120. The reading κτανέ|μεν attributed in the marginal note to Zenodotus would be metrical; but a finite verb would be much more natural, and it is probable that the oblique construction has been wrongly carried on from ll. 115–7. At any rate a future not an aorist infinitive would be expected to balance ἰξέμεν. κτανέμεν is therefore very likely a graphical error for κτάνεν ἐν, due to the influence of κτανεῖν in the text; the homoioteleuton would of course make the loss of ἐν particularly easy. μ in κτανέμεν is hardly certain, but is more suitable than ν.

121–2. The metre requires ἰῇ ἰῇ in l. 121, ἰῇ only in l. 122.

123–40. 'An island of glorious name thou reignest amid the Dorian sea, bright

star of Hellenic Zeus! Therefore will we not lay thee to rest without a feast of paeans, but thou shalt receive our surging songs, and declare whence came to thee the god who guides thy helm and thy care for the right of the stranger. He who brings all things to pass in their diversity, the far-seeing son of Cronos, placed in thy hand thy happiness: by the waters of Asopus he once carried off from the threshold the deep-breasted maiden Aegina; then the golden tresses of the mists hid the shaded ridges of your land, that upon the immortal couch . . .'

123 sqq. The abrupt transition to Aegina, which is addressed in the following passage, is in the Pindaric manner. The point of connexion is to be found in the Aeacid ancestry of Neoptolemus, Aegina being the mythical home of the line, as narrated below in the legend of the birth of its founder. This pointed juxtaposition of Neoptolemus and Aegina helps to explain the soreness of the Aeginetans at what appeared to them an unfortunate description of the manner of Neoptolemus' death; cf. note on ll. 117–9 and introd. p. 20. But they certainly had no cause to complain of the tone of ll. 123–32.

ὀνομακλύτα is quoted from Pindar by Schol. T. on *Iliad* X 51 (= Bergk Fr. 301) perhaps from the present passage; the feminine termination is also found in *ναυσικλύτα*, another Pindaric epithet of Aegina (*Nem.* v. 9). For *Δωριεῖ* cf. *Nem.* iii. 3 *Δωρίδα νᾶσον Αἴγιναν*, and Pindar Fr. 1, 3.

124. *φέρεται* in the marginal note probably means 'is found in', of a reading; the word is so used in an unpublished Oxyrhynchus fragment of Apollonius Rhodius with scholia.

125. *Διὸς Ἑλλανίου*: cf. *Nem.* v. 10 *παὰ βωμὸν πατέρος Ἑλλανίου*, and for the marginal note cf. the schol. *ad loc.* *φασὶ γὰρ αὐχμοῦ ποτε πιέζοντος τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἔνιοι δὲ κατακλυσμοῦ, συνελθόντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας καθικετεῦσαι τὸν Αἰακον ὡς ὄντα παῖδα Διὸς ἐξαιτήσασθαι τῶν τότε συστάντων κακῶν τὴν ἴασιν, τοῦτον δὲ εὐξάμενον ἀποθεραπεῦσαι τὰ δεινὰ καὶ οὕτω διὰ τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος σωτηρίαν Ἑλλήνιον παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγινήταις τετιμῆσθαι Δία.*

128. *ἄδορπον*: cf. Pindar Fr. 124 *α ἐρατᾶν ὄχημ'* (*ὄγχημ'* (?) Boeckh) *ἀοιδᾶν τοῦτό* ⟨*τοι*⟩ *πέμπω μεταδόρπιαν.*

129. *ῥόθια*: cf. Aristophanes, *Eq.* 546 *αἴρεσθ' αὐτῷ πολὺ τὸ ῥόθιον.* The word is especially appropriate, like *ναυπρύτανιν* in l. 130, in the case of wave-washed Aegina.

130–1. *ναυπρύτανιν* and *θεμίξενον* are both *ἅπαξ εἰρημένα*. On the latter cf. *Ol.* viii. 20–3 *Αἴγιναν . . . ἔνθα Σώτειρα Διὸς ξενίου πάρεδρος ἀσκεῖται Θέμις ἕξοχ' ἀνθρώπων*, *Nem.* iv. 11–12 *Αἰακιδᾶν ἠΰπυργον ἕδος, δίκᾳ ξεναρκεῖ κοινὸν φέγγος*, *Nem.* v. 8 *φίλαν ξένων ἄρουραν*, and Fr. 1. 3–4 *νέμονται* (sc. the Aeginetans) *οὐ θέμιν οὐδὲ δίκαν ξείνων ὑπερβαίνοντες.*

In *ἀρετάν* two short syllables appear in place of a long one (l. 9 *ἦλθον*, l. 91 *Ἀπό[λ]λ[ω]ν*); the same variation occurs in the case of the same word in the epode at l. 176. Bury notes that this resolution supports the traditional reading in *Nem.* iii. 14, where *ἀγοράν* in a similar position in correspondence with a spondee has been commonly rejected.

132. Cf. *Isthm.* v. 52 *Ζεὺς τά τε καὶ τὰ νέμει*, and Pind. Fr. 141 *θεὸς ὁ πάντα τεύχων βροτοῖς.*

133. The variant *ἐγγυάλιξον* would presumably imply *παῖ* for *παῖς*, producing a hiatus. The indicative is no doubt correct.

134. The correction of *νδατι* to *ὑδάτεσσι* is necessary for the metre. Asopus was the father of Aegina; cf. *Isthm.* viii. 17 sqq. *δίδυμαι γένοντο θύγατρες Ἀσωπίδων ὁπλότατα, Ζηνί τε ἄδον βασιλεῖ, ὃ τὰν μὲν . . . σὲ δ'* (sc. *Αἴγιναν*) *ἐς νᾶσον Οἰνοπίαν ἐνεγκὼν κοιμᾶτο.*

135. *π[οτ' ἀ]πό*: or perhaps *π[οθ' ὑ]πό*. *βαθύκολπος* is an epithet of the Muses in *Pyth.* i. 12. Cf. *βαθύζωνος.*

136. *ἀ[να]ρέψατο*: this verb is usually written *ἀνερείπεσθαι* (*ἀνηρείψαντο Il.* Y 234, &c.), but the form *ἀνερειψάμενοι* is found in Bekk. *Anecd.* p. 401, and *ἀρέπω* akin to *ἁρπάζω* and *rapere* would seem to be etymologically correct.

138. The meaningless and unmetrical *εκρυψαταν* of the papyrus perhaps arose from a dittography of *ψα*.

172. *ποινά* is an alternative reading. The mark of short quantity rather suggests *ποιναί* as a variant on *ποινᾶι*, but a final *ι* was certainly not written.

175. In the absence of the context there are no means of deciding between *γε* and the *v. l. τε*.

176. In *ἀρετάς* ∪ ∪ – = – –; cf. note on ll. 130–1.

178. *πα]τρωΐαν*: or]*Τρωΐαν*; in either case the *ω* is shortened; cf. l. 75.

180. *νιν* is apparently a variant for *πᾶν*. There is a short blank space between the final *ν* and the very slight vestige of the following letter, which was perhaps the initial of the name of the critic who supported the reading.

182–3. *παιάν*: *παιᾶν* Pap. According to Ahrens, *De dial. Dor.* p. 26, *παιάν*, *Ἰάν*, &c., was the Doric accent; but different systems may have obtained among grammarians. If *δέ* = 'and' the acute accent shows that an enclitic (*τοι*?) followed.

The Zenodotean reading recorded in the margin is obscure. The letters are for the most part clear.

VII.

1. If *δότ[ειραι* (Pindar Fr. 109. 5 *πενίας δότειραν*) is right, the Muses or Graces are addressed.

3. *αὐλάν* probably means 'temple'; cf. *Nem.* iv. 24 *Ἡρακλέος ὀλβίαν πρὸς αὐλάν*.

4. In front of the cross at the beginning of this line are some ink marks which might represent *ως*, but are more likely to be accidental.

12. *ἄν* = *ἀνά*.

15. *πρὸ βωμ[οῦ* (*-μ[ῶν*?): or *προβώμ[ιος*; cf. Frs. 129–31. 20 below.

16.]*παρο[* is written slightly smaller and less regularly than the adjoining letters, and is possibly part of a marginal entry.

17. *κελά]δησαν αὐδάν*: cf. Fr. 16. 5 **κελαδήσαθ' ὕμνους**.

18. *εὐαντής* is not found elsewhere except in Apoll. Rhod. iv. 148 *εὐαντέα δοῦναι ἐφορμήν*.

B. Frs. 16–25. On the general characteristics of this group of fragments cf. introd. p. 12. Whether any of them belong to Paean VII, or, if so, which, is doubtful. There are some resemblances in rhythm, but no correspondence can be established.

Fr. 16. 5. **κελαδήσαθ'** is probably a variant for some other verb. The conjunction of the words **κελαδήσαθ' ὕμνους** here is noteworthy in connexion with *Nem.* iv. 16, where Bergk's emendation of the traditional *ὕμνον κελάδησε καλλίνικον* to *νίὸν κ. κ.* has been accepted by Bury and Schroeder. Cf. VII. 17 *κελά]δησαν αὐδάν*.

6. Possibly *κατ' ἀμαξιτόν*, as in *Pyth.* iv. 247: only the scantiest traces remain of the word between *ι]ππον* and *ἁμαξ*.

7. *Συρίαις*: the first letter seems to be *σ* rather than *ο*, or *θουρίαις* would be an easier epithet. Cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 84 *Σύριόν θ' ἅρμα διώκων*, and for *ἀν' ἵπποις* cf. e. g. *Ol.* i. 41 *χρυσέαισιν ἀν' ἵπποις*. The doubtful *ν* may be *τ*.

8. *π]τανόν*: cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 246 E *Ζεὺς ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἅρμα*. The supposed *τ* is represented only by the top of the crossbar, which might belong equally well to e. g. *γ* or *σ*.

10–7. '(I pray) to the fair-robed child of Uranus, Mnemosyne, and to her daughters to grant fullness of resource. For blind are the minds of men, whoever without the maids

of Helicon seeks the steep path of them who walked it by their wisdom. To me they have handed on this immortal work . . .'

10. Some word like *ἐπεύχομαι* is apparently to be supplied in the lacuna. For *εὐπέπλῳ . . . κόρα⟨ι⟩σί τ'* cf. VI. 54–6 and *Isthm.* vi. 74–5 *κόραι χρυσοπέπλου Μναμοσύνας.*

11. *εὐμαχανίαν*: cf. *Isthm.* iv. 2, where the word means rather abundance of opportunity than resourcefulness on the part of the poet. The latter sense is more appropriate in the present passage.

13–4. *ἀνδρῶν . . . ⟨ὅ⟩στις*: so *Ol.* iii. 10–1 *νίσονθ' ἑπ' ἀνθρώπους ἀοιδαὶ ᾧ τινι . . .*

15. If *ἐλθ⟨όν⟩των* is right the sense seems to be *ὅστις ἐρευνᾷ τὴν βαθεῖαν ὁδὸν τῶν ἐλθόντων αὐτὴν ταῖς αὐτῶν σοφίαις*: 'whoever emulates the masters of poetry must be guided by the Muses.' The allusion is perhaps to Homer; cf. Fr. 17. Bury would prefer to connect *ἐλθ⟨όν⟩των* with *⟨ὅ⟩στις* and *σ⟩οφίαις* with *ἐρευνι⟨ᾶ*, which gives a less involved sentence, but makes *ἐλθ⟨όν⟩των* awkwardly placed. *ἐλθ⟨όν⟩των*, however, is insecure; the doubtful *θ* may be *ε* or *ο*, and *γ* may replace *τ*. To write *σοφίας ὁδόν* (cf. VIII. 4) would be a slight simplification, but that is hardly warrantable. For *βαθεῖαν* cf. *Pyth.* v. 88 *ἁλὸς βαθεῖαν κέλευθον ἀνοίγων.*

16. The paragraphus marks the commencement of a new metrical section. If Fr. 16 belongs to Paean VII this section will be an epode, since the metre of l. 16 differs from that of VII. 1.

17. *πόνον* seems to be the right reading; *πόρον* would keep up the metaphor of *ὁδόν* in l. 15 (cf. *Isthm.* viii. 15 *βίου πόρον*) but combines less easily with *δ⟩ἐδω⟨καν⟩ ἀθάνατ⟨ο⟩ν.*

Fr. 17. The appearance of this fragment suggests that it is closely connected with Fr. 19, though whether it should be placed somewhere in ll. 1–9 or belongs to the succeeding column is doubtful; the recto is consistent with either position. A suitable collocation could be produced by making Fr. 17. l. 1 the next verse to Fr. 16. l. 17 and connecting *πόνον* with *Ὁμήρου*; the papyrus being broken immediately above the latter word, there is no means of determining whether that line was the first of a column.

Fr. 18. The beginning of l. 10 in Fr. 16 seems to be a rather likely place for this small fragment.

Fr. 19. The first column of this fragment may follow immediately on Fr. 16. Such a position would suit the recto, which on the other hand indicates that Fr. 16 is not to be placed next to Fr. 19, Col. ii.

2. *δέλτου*: cf. Kaibel, *Epigr.* 185. 10 *Ὁμήρου δέλτον* and 471. 1–2 *Ὅμηρος ὕμνησ' ἐν δέλτοις.* The occurrence of *δέλτου* here may be a mere coincidence, but perhaps affords a slight additional argument for making Fr. 16 and Fr. 19, Col. i successive columns, and placing Fr. 17 at the top of the latter.

10. The scholium indicates a reference to Leto; cf. l. 12 and ll. 20 sqq.

12. Either *ἑκαέρ|γου* or *ἑκαέρ|γῳ*, as shown by the accent. Cf. *Pyth.* ix. 28 *ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων.*

16–8. Whether Fr. 20 should be assigned to this column is very doubtful; *ἔσσατο* is not very suitable to the context in ll. 20 sqq. The fragment is unlikely, owing to its difference in colour, to belong to Fr. 19, Col. i, but it may be the top of the column represented by Fr. 21. In the first line of the scholium it is tempting to read *τὴν Δῆ]λ[ον λέγει Ἀ[σ]τ[ε]ρίαν* (cf. V. 42, note), but though the supposed *π* is quite uncertain and could well be *τ* (or *γ* or *σ*), there does not seem to be room for *στε* between the *α* and *ρ*.

18. Only a short horizontal stroke, which we take for an elongated base of a *δ*, is visible before the lacuna; it is too near to the line above to be a paragraphus.

20. *πείσομ[ι*: *v. l. πείθομαι*, indicating that *πείσομαι* is from *πείθειν* not *πάσχειν*. The speaker is Asteria, as the next lines show.

21 sqq. Cf. Callimachus, *Del.* 36 sqq. *ἀλλ' ἄφετος πελάγεσσιν ἐπέπλεες, οὔνομα δ' ἦν τοι Ἀστερίη τὸ παλαιόν, ἐπεὶ βαθὺν ἦλαο τάφρον οὐρανόθεν φεύγουσα Διὸς γάμον ἀσσητέρι ἴσῃ.* Something corresponding to *γάμον* has to be supplied in l. 21 after *ἐθελο[ισα*, and *ἦ* perhaps = *ἔφη*; but this use does not occur elsewhere in Pindar, and Bury would interpret *ἦ* here on the analogy of *Pyth.* iv. 57 *ἦ ῥα Μηδείας ἐπέων στίχες*, where however the reading has been called in question and *ἦ* is taken by some critics as equivalent to *ἔφη*.

22. *Κοίου θυγάτηρ*: i. e. Asteria, not Leto.

23. Of the last five letters the bases only remain; *δέδο[ι]κα* seems to be right, but *π* or *ν* might be read in place of the following *κ*. Some infinitive such as *λέγειν* or *ᾄδειν* seems to be required to complete the sentence, though this profession of scepticism on the part of the poet is curious; contrast *Pyth.* x. 49–50 *θεῶν τελεσάντων οὐδέν ποτε φαίνεται ἔμμεν ἄπιστον.*

24. For the variant *νιν* cf. VI. 115, note. In the incomplete state of the text it is difficult to decide between the claims of *ἐν* and *ἄν*. The *α* is probably by the original scribe; whether the overwritten *ν* in this line and *υ* in the next are also due to him is much more doubtful.

25. *εὐαγέα*, *v. l. εὐανγέα*: the dot to the right of the interlinear *υ* is lost. The present passage is one of the few authorities for the spelling *εὐανγής*, which Hemsterhuis wished to restore in all passages where the word means 'clear' or 'conspicuous.' In Arist. *De Mundo* 5. p. 397. 16 one MS. has *εὐαυγέστατος*, and *εὐανγία* is found as a variant on *εὐαγία* in Iambl. *Protrept.* p. 152. 23. It does not seem possible to read the first letter of the scholium as *ε*, and if *]αυαγε[* is right, the stem must be *ναναγ-*, which would presumably be another *v. l.*, although the entry is in the small cursive hand in which explanations, not variants, are commonly given, and *ναναγ-* in any form would produce a difference of metre. The supposed *γε* could equally well be *ν*.

26. For the name *Ὀρτυγία* cf. e. g. Apoll. Rhod. i. 537 *ἦ που ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ* (*ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ* Schol.) and Schol. Lycophron 401 *ἡ Λητοῦς ἀδελφὴ Ἀστερία φεύγουσα τὴν τοῦ Διὸς μίξιν μετέβαλεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς ὄρτυγα καὶ ἥλατο εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐγένετο νῆσος, ἥτις ἐκ ταύτης Ὀρτυγία καὶ Ἀστερία ἐκαλεῖτο.* *τι* is clear before *μιν*; Blass preferred *κάλ[ε]όν τε*. In *παλαι* there is a hole between *α* and *ι*, which are farther apart than usual, but there would not be room for *παλα[ιο]ι* unless the *ο* was abnormally small.

27. Cf. Callim. *Del.* 53–4 *οὐκέτ' ἄδηλος ἐπέπλεες, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ πόντου κύμασιν Αἰγαίοιο ποδῶν ἐνεθήκαο ῥίζας.*

28–30. If *τᾶς* is right *τοξοφόρον τελέσαι γόνον* will be epexegetical of *ἐράσσατο*, i. e. Zeus desired the island as the place for the birth of Apollo. A more natural interpretation would be to connect *τᾶς* with *γόνον*, but this is inadmissible since *τᾶς* must refer to Asteria, who was not the mother of Apollo. Perhaps *τᾶς* should be *ἄς* = *ἕως* (*Ol.* x. 51), when *τελέσαι* would be directly dependent on *ἐράσσατο* as in *Nem.* i. 31 *οὐκ ἔραμαι . . . ἔχειν*. The metre being uncertain we cannot decide between *κράτιστος* and *κάρτιστος*; the confusion of spelling is not unfrequent in Pindar, e. g. *Pyth.* xi. 18, where there is authority for both *κρατερᾶν* and *καρτερᾶν*. For *ὁ κράτιστος* of Zeus cf. *Ol.* xiv. 12 *θεῶν κρατίστου παῖδες*, and for *τελέσαι Pyth.* iii. 9 *τὸν μὲν εὐίππου Φλεγύα θυγάτηρ πρὶν τελέσσαι ματροπόλῳ σὺν Ἐλειθυίᾳ.* *γ* of *γονον* has apparently been corrected from *σ*.

The present context, as suggested by Blass, would be appropriate to Fr. 90, reading in ll. 3–4 *χ]άλκε[α]ι μὲν τό[τε . . . ὖ]πο κίον[ες*; cf. Pindar Fr. 88 *ἀλλ' ἁ Κοιογενὴς ὁπότ' ὠδίνεσσι θυίοισ' ἀγχιτόκοις ἐπέβα νιν* (sc. *Δῆλον*), *δὴ τότε τέσσαρες ὀρθαὶ πρέμνων ἀπώρουσαν χθονίων, ἄν δ' ἐπικράνοις σχέθον πέτραν ἀδαμαντοπέδιλοι κίονες.* Moreover, the metre in Fr. 90 can be brought into correspondence with that in ll. 24–6 : ∪ ∪ – *]ισόρυθμος ἐφαί[νετο . . . – χ]άλκεαι*

μὲν τό]*τε* . . . ∪ ∪ – *ῦ*]*πο κίον*[*ες*, and the two passages might therefore stand in the relation of strophe and antistrophe. The difference of hand creates no real difficulty, for if C and D belong to the same MS. as A and B, which there is good ground for supposing (cf. introd. p. 23), a change of scribe necessarily occurred at some point, and there is no reason why the point should not be at the end of Col. ii of Fr. 19. The appearance of the papyrus, however, is very dissimilar in the two fragments; and the metrical argument is not strong, for the line of fracture on the left side of Fr. 90 is practically straight, and it is hardly likely that both ∪ ∪ –] in l. 24 and ∪ ∪ – *υ*] in l. 26 would have occupied the same space as – *χ*] in l. 25. We have therefore refrained from bringing Fr. 90 into immediate relation with Fr. 19, though the combination is undoubtedly attractive.

Fr. 21. The position of this fragment in relation to Frs. 16 and 17 is altogether uncertain; it may precede Fr. 16 or follow Fr. 17. The recto is practically illegible.

7. *ἔσσεται*, which is probably a variant for [*ἔσ*]*ται*, seems to be independent of *αμα*[, being not quite in the same straight line, and apparently by a different hand.

Fr. 22. 3. Neither the circumflex accent nor the rough breathing is clear. *ἰσῇ* (subj. of *ἴσαμι*) is conjectured by Bury in *Nem.* iv. 91.

Fr. 26. This fragment and Fr. 27 are distinguished by the fact that the recto is in a different hand from that of the rest of A and B, and may be the same as that of D, where the text on the verso is by a second scribe. Fr. 27 is of a darker colour than Fr. 26, and does not apparently join directly on to it.

5. *νηλεῖ θῆρ μ*[: or possibly *Νηρέϊον ἰμ*[*ερ* . . . (?), but the letter before *μ* is rather more like *ρ* than *ι*, and there is a mark above the preceding letter, which has to be ignored if this be read as *ν* but can well be an accent on an *η*.

6. *κρο*[.]*αν*: the supposed *ι* is rather tall and may be *φ*.

7. Cf. *Nem.* ix. 22 *Ἰσμηνοῦ δ' ἐπ' ὄχθαισι*. A small dot at the base of]*ι* might be the vestige of an *α*, but [*ὄχθα*]*ις* alone would not fill the lacuna.

Fr. 28. 2. *βαθυδ*[*οξ* . . .: cf. II. 58, &c. *βαθυζ*[*ωνι* . . . may also be read, but a combination with III. 99 is not possible; cf. note *ad loc.*

4. *Ἀθά*[*να* . . .: or *ἀθε*[*ναι* . . .?

Fr. 33. 2. Perhaps *ἀν*]*ασσ'* or]*ας σ'*: but the first *σ* is possibly a rubbed *ο*, and]*λος* or]*μος* e. g. might be read.

3. Possibly *Ἄ*]*πολλον*; but the relative length of the next four lines renders it unlikely that this line is the first verse of a strophe from V.

4. The first *ε* of *νεμε* is extremely doubtful, but *ι* or *ο* are equally unsatisfactory; *λε* or *λο* may be read for *ασ*.

Fr. 44. It is not certain which way up this fragment should be placed.

Fr. 46. 2. The mark of length above the *α* is not quite certain.

3. An alternative reading *ἀνθέμῳ νο*[for *ἀνθέμων βα*[is apparently indicated by the interlinear insertion.

4.]*οκε*: or]*ωκα*. If *κέλης* is right the next word may be *Ἰόνι*[*ος*: *ἰοντ*[cannot be read.

Fr. 47. 2.]*βαλιο*[: so probably rather than]*δαλια*[. In any case this line cannot be the first of one of the strophes of V (*ἰήϊε Δάλι' Ἄπολλον*), since]*ζω* . [(*βαθ*]*υζωνι*[?) in the line below does not suit the metre of the following verse – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –.

Fr. 48. This fragment cannot be placed at VI. 68–9; cf. note *ad loc.*

Frs. 49, 50. These two fragments are of the same light colour, but do not join.

Fr. 54. 2. The letter after *η* must be either *α* or *δ*. The insertion above the line is in lighter ink and somewhat blurred.

Fr. 55. 1. The insertion (which is not certainly by the first hand) is at the distance of an ordinary verse from l. 2; the note is therefore a marginal one, and]τονα[came near the end of a line.

Frs. 59–60. The appearance of these two small fragments suggests a connexion with Col. viii of A owing to the fact that the recto there has a broad strip of papyrus gummed on to it, the writing on which runs in the reverse direction to the cursive of the recto, and the recto of Frs. 59 and 60 is covered in the same way with pieces from the same document. The strip down Col. viii, however, is practically complete except at ll. 102–4, and since neither of the fragments can be fitted on there, they may come from quite another part of the manuscript. The recto of Fr. 68 is similar.

Frs. 65–81. Of these seventeen fragments of scholia the recto of five, namely Frs. 71, 75, 76, 78, and 81 is blank, and they may therefore come from either A–B, C or D; in the case of Frs. 77 and 81 the remains on the recto are insufficient to identify the hand. The remainder, as is shown by the recto, belong either to A–B or C, the majority more probably to the former. Fr. 81, which is in small sloping uncials, should perhaps rather be referred to C or D.

Fr. 66. This fragment is composed of two pieces, the combination of which, though probable, is not quite free from doubt. The line of junction is at the lacunae after γεν[and ται[.

Fr. 71. 4. Perhaps ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρο]ς λέγει [as in Fr. 82. 3.

C. The hand of the text changes at this point; cf. introd. p. 12.

VIII.

Fr. 82. 1 sqq. This scholium not improbably refers, like ll. 7–11, to Clymenus and Erginus (cf. note *ad loc.*), but its subject is obscured by mutilation.

2. If ἐ]ξῆλθες γ[ε̣]νεήν is right the oracle was quoted verbatim.

4. The word after ἡνίκα is perhaps καί; the vestiges are too slight for certain identification.

7–11. Cf. Apollod. ii. 4. 11 *Κλύμενον τὸν Μινυῶν βασιλέα λίθῳ βαλὼν Μενοικέως ἡνίοχος, ὄνομα Περιήρης, ἐν Ὀγχηστῷ Ποσειδῶνος τεμένει τιτρώσκει, ὁ δὲ κομισθεὶς εἰς Ὀρχομενὸν ἡμιθνὴς ἐπισκήπτει τελευτῶν Ἐργίνῳ τῷ παιδὶ ἐκδικῆσαι* (cf. Fr. 65. 5) *τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ, στρατευσάμενος δὲ Ἐργῖνος ἐπὶ Θήβας, κτείνας οὐκ ὀλίγους, ἐσπείσατο μεθ' ὅρκων ὅπως πέμπωσιν αὐτῷ Θηβαῖοι δασμὸν ἐπὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη κατὰ ἔτος ἑκατὸν βόας. ἐπὶ τούτον τὸν δασμὸν τοὺς κήρυκας εἰς Θήβας ἀπιόντας συντυχὼν Ἡρακλῆς ἐλωβήσατο . . . ἐφ' οἷς ἀγανακτῶν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Θήβας. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ . . . Ἐργίνου μὲν ἔκτεινε τοὺς δὲ Μινύας ἐτρέψατο.* A similar account is given by Pausanias ix. 37. 2; cf. Schol. *Ol.* xiv. 2.

8. Perhaps]ν̣ο̣υ, but hardly Ἐργί]ν̣ο̣υ, since Ἐργῖνος is presumably the subject of ἀ]πήτει. τ̣ο̣ῦ, which would be expected, does not seem admissible; the *υ* is extremely doubtful, and palaeographically *ν* would be more satisfactory.

17–9. A paraphrase of ll. 25 sqq. δυτελέω in l. 19 is corrupt. *τελέως* is probably meant, and *δυ* may represent *αὖ*, 'further'; *⟨σ⟩ὺ τελέως ἐπιτελέ[σεις* is less likely.

20–33. '(Seeing Paris) hasting forth, straightway her godliest inspired heart cried out

with grievous moan and made utterance with such purport of speech :—O infinite far-seeing son of Cronos, now wilt thou accomplish the calamity fated of old what time Hecabe declared to the sons of Dardanus the vision which she once saw when she carried this man in her womb; she thought she bore a fiery hundred-handed Fury, who with cruel violence hurled down to the ground all Ilium. And she said . . .'

20. *σπεύδοντ'* refers to Paris, hastening to set out for Sparta. The removal of the final *ν* of *εκλαγξεν* is indicated by a dot placed above and below the letter, as in l. 25 below; cf. II. 67.

ἱερ[ώτατον: cf. note on Fr. 87. 3.

21. *κέαρ*: i.e. that of Cassandra, *κέαρ* being used paraphrastically for the person as in *Nem.* vii. 102 *τὸ δ' ἐμὸν οὔ ποτε φάσει κέαρ.* For *ὀλοῖσι στοναχαῖς* cf. *Iliad* Ψ 10 *ὀλοῖο . . . γόοιο.*

22. The accent and mark of quantity on *στοναχαις* show that the scribe carelessly mistook the dative for the nominative.

23. *κορυφᾷ*: cf. *Ol.* vii. 68–9 *τελεύταθεν δὲ λόγων κορυφαὶ ἐν ἀλαθείᾳ πετοῖσαι* and *Pyth.* iii. 80 *λόγων συννέμεν κορυφάν.* The analogy of these passages makes *λόγων* in l. 24 preferable to the *v. l. λόγον.* With what object the curved marks were placed beneath the syllables *αι* and *φαι* is not clear; cf. IX. 35 and 41, where the syllables *χει* of *λέχει* and *Την* in the name *Τήνερον* are similarly underlined. Such signs are used e.g. in the Bacchylides papyrus to connect the constituent parts of compound words (iii. 23 *δαμασίππου*, v. 19 *εὐρυάνακτος*, &c.), but though the stroke would serve to warn the reader that *Την* in *Τήνερον* was not the article, and that *τοιαιδε* was one word, not two, no similar explanation will apply to *κορυφᾶι* or *λέχει.* In the former word next to the circumflex accent is a mark which we can only explain as a sign of short quantity indicating *κορυφαί*, though this is contradicted by the accent and *κορυφαί* would not construe.

σάμαινεν: the interlinear *ν* is in a lighter ink, and was perhaps added by a later hand.

24. *λόγων*: cf. note on l. 23. The adjective *παναπείρων* is found only in Orph. *H.* 58. 10 *νόμον ὠγύγιον παναπείρονος εὐνόμου ἀρχῆς. παναπείριτ'* (Oppian *C.* ii. 517) in the same sense or *παναπῆμον* (Hesiod, *Op.* 811, Anth. Pal. ix. 525. 17; cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* x. 21–2 *θεὸς εἴη ἀπήμων κέαρ*) are other possibilities.

25. The reading *τελεῖς* was altered to *τέλει* (imperative), a dot having been placed above and below the final *σ* (cf. l. 20), and the accent of *τέλει* added. The indicative *τελεῖς* is preferable, since Cassandra did not wish for the accomplishment of the ruin of Troy, but only foresaw it.

29. *τόνδ' ἀνέρ'* means of course Paris.

30 sqq. On this well-known story of Hecuba's dream cf. e. g. Apollod. iii. 12. 5 *δευτέρου δὲ γεννᾶσθαι μέλλοντος βρέφους ἔδοξεν Ἑκάβῃ κιθ' ὕπαρ διιλὸν τεκεῖν διάπυρον* (so Eurip. *Troiades* 921–2 *βρέφος, δαλοῦ πικρὸν μίμημ'*, Schol. Eurip. *Andr.* 294 *λαμπάδα*, Vergil, *Aen.* vii. 320 *Nec face tantum Cisseis praegnas*, &c.), *τοῦτων δὲ πᾶσαν ἐπινέμεσθαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ καίειν.*

32. *ἐπὶ π[έδον*: cf. Aesch. Fr. 169 *πρὸς πέδῳ βαίλῃς*, &c.

33 sqq. These mutilated lines probably refer to the interpretation of the dream, of which different accounts are preserved. According to Apollod. *l. c.* the interpreter was Priam's son Aesacus, at whose recommendation the child was exposed, but ineffectually (cf. l. 35 (?) *ἔσφα]λε προμάθεια*).

34. For *ὑπνα[λέον* cf. Anth. Pal. v. 242. 5 *ἐν ὑπναλέοισιν ὀνείροις.* Either *ι* or *η* might be read in place of *α*, but not *ο*.

35. Perhaps *οὕτως* 'Α[ρίσ(ταρχος)* or 'Α[ρ(ιστοφά)ν(ης); cf. note on II. 61.

Frs. 83–4. That Fr. 83 should be placed at the top of this column is made almost

certain by the combination of three considerations: (1) the similar appearance of the verso of Frs. 83 and 84, (2) the fact that a strengthening strip from a cursive document has been gummed on the recto of both of them, (3) the coincidence that when the fragment is so placed a column of exactly the right length results. On grounds analogous to (1) and (2) Fr. 85 is also to be placed in the upper part of the column, probably close to Fr. 84.

1–2. *ενω*[and *με* . [are probably the beginnings of lines.

8. The vestiges at the end of this line may belong to a scholium.

11. *κλιθείς* occurs also in *Ol.* i. 92 *Ἀλφεοῦ πόρῳ κλ.* and *Nem.* iv. 15 *θάμα κε τῷδε μέλει κλ. υἱὸν (?) κελάδησε. κλιθείς* in the present passage will mean simply 'reclining.'

12. *πρᾶξον* is apparently the neuter participle future agreeing with *ἔπος*, though the expression is somewhat strange.

13. If the marginal *Χρυσ*( ) gives the name of the speaker, possibly the Trojan Chryses, who was a priest of Apollo, or the Cretan Chrysothemis, who is said to have been the first winner in the contest of singing a hymn to Apollo at Delphi (Pausan. x. 7. 2), may be meant. But on the analogy of the other abbreviated names of Pindaric commentators which occur in this papyrus it is more probable that *Χρυσ*( ) stands for the critic *Χρύσιππος*, who is frequently referred to in the extant scholia.

15. From the conjunction in the scholium of *ὠκεανοῦ* and *θέμιδος* it may be inferred that the latter word followed in the text. The reading is practically certain, and *τ* cannot be substituted for *δ*, though it should perhaps be restored in accordance with the usual Pindaric declension.

Fr. 86. 1. This line was probably, but not certainly, the first of a column. The fragment cannot be combined with Fr. 88 *θ' ὑ*|*περτάτᾳ*, &c.

Fr. 87. 3. There is a remarkable coincidence between the remains of this line and Fr. 82. 20; the word *ἱερώτατον* probably occurs in both verses, and the same ambiguity of metre in the preceding word is also found in both cases. But the hypothesis that the two verses are in strophic correspondence is open to the objection that Fr. 87. 4]*εντες* does not agree with Fr. 82. 21 *ὁλοαῖ*|*σι*; this difficulty, however, could easily be overcome by writing *ὁλοιαῖ*|*σι*.

Fr. 90. On the grounds for and against bringing this fragment into connexion with Fr. 19 see note on ll. 28–30 *ad loc.*

Fr. 91. This fragment may contain the beginnings of lines.

Fr. 93. For the double accent on *ὅπλοις* cf. note on V. 44. The rough breathing is not clear.

Fr. 95. 5. Perhaps a critical note, if *ἔν τισι* = 'in some copies.'

Fr. 96. 1. *θρασύς* seems to be a variant for *ταχύς*. If *Ἀλεξανδ*[*ρ* below is a reference to Paris, the fragment may come from the column following Fr. 82. ii; cf. Frs. 129–31. 1.

Frs. 103–4. These two fragments are very similar in appearance, and probably go close together.

Fr. 107. *ἀπ*[*ὸ*] *δάφνης δαφνη*[*φορικόν*: the poems described as *δαφνηφορικά* were so called from the branches of laurel which the singers carried, and according to Proclus, *Chrest. ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 239, they were classed with the *Παρθένεια*,—*Παρθ. οἷς καὶ τὰ Δαφνηφορικὰ ὡς εἰς γένος πίπτει.* The *δαφνηφορία* was specially associated with the Ismenion at Thebes. Cf. introd. p. 24.

Fr. 108. *πρ*]*οσόδι*[*ον* seems a likely restoration; on its possible significance cf. introd. p. 24.

Fr. 109. The occurrence of an elision mark between *ε* and *ω* leads us to regard this line as belonging to the text in spite of the rather small size of the letters.

Fr. 111. Probably from the top of a column. The first line may be part of a scholium.

Fr. 116. The vestiges below the third line seem to represent lectional signs rather than letters.

Fr. 117. 2. The supposed high stop may be the end of an acute accent.

Fr. 124. The writing in this fragment is slightly more cursive than usual in the notes by the first hand.

D. Frs. 126–39 are distinguished from those under C by the presence of a different hand on the recto.

IX. For the Thebans.

1–21 = Pindar Fr. 107, preserved in Dionys. Hal. *De Demosth. dict.* c. 7 *ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις, ἃ πολλά ἐστιν, εἰ λάβοι μέλη καὶ ῥυθμοὺς ὥσπερ οἱ διθύραμβοι καὶ τὰ ὑπορχήματα, τοῖς Πινδάρου ποιήμασιν ἐοικέναι δόξειεν ἂν τοῖς εἰς τὸν ἥλιον εἰρημένοις, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται· Ἀκτίς, κ.τ.λ.* The general accuracy of Dionysius' quotation is confirmed by the metre as determined by ll. 34 sqq., though some small improvements can now be effected. On the class of composition to which the ode belongs cf. introd. p. 23.

1–2. *τί* (Dionys.) suits the metre and makes good sense.

μήσεαι, ὦ μᾶτερ: *ἐμῆς θεῶ μ' ἅτερ* Dionys., of which Blass's emendation *μήσεαι* (or *ἐμήσαο* Bergk) *ὦ μᾶτερ* is confirmed by the metre.

3. An additional short syllable is required before *ἔθηκας* to produce a correspondence with l. 43, which there is no reason to suspect. Perhaps *νυν*, which might easily have dropped out after *κλεπτόπενον*, or *τύ γ'* should be inserted. *ἔθηκας* is likely to be sound; cf. e. g. l. 19 below and *Ol.* ii. 16–7 *ἀποίητον . . . θέμεν ἔργων τέλος.*

4. *ἰσχύν τ' ἀνδράσι(ν)* Blass, now confirmed by ll. 14, 34, and 44; *ἰσχὺν πτανὸν ἀνδρ.* Dionys. (*πτανὸν δράσιν* Paris. 1745). Though the syllable may be long or short (short in ll. 14 and 34, long in l. 44), it is better to write *-σιν* than *-σι* since *-σιν* recurs in the same position in l. 14. Other similar correspondences in this poem are ll. 5 and 15 *-τον . . . -μεν-*, ll. 8 and 38 *-εύω.*

7. *ἵππος θαθοάς* Dionys., *ἱπποσόα θοάς* Blass.

9–11. Our identification of Fr. 127 is of course uncertain, but the accents on]ὁλ[and]ότ[both happen to suit, and, moreover, the recto is blank as it should be if the fragment belongs to Col. ii of Fr. 126.

9. [*εἰς*]: *ἐς* Dionys., but the syllable is long in ll. 19 and 49.

13. The remains of the first letter are consistent with either *ο* or *ω*, but the conditions seem less difficult if the two initial feet are taken to be [⏑]*ωνŏσ*[– rather than [⏑ –]*ονōσ*[. Above the *ω* or *ο* is a dot which is more probably the tip of a lectional sign, e. g. a grave or circumflex accent, than of an over-written letter. The doubtful *σ* might be *ε*, *ο* or *ω*, but hardly *θ*.

πολέμοιο δὲ σᾶμα: *πολέμου δὶς ἅμα* Dionys. Scaliger's *σᾶμα* has been generally accepted, and *πολέμοιο δέ* can now be confidently restored with the aid of the metre in l. 43.

16. ⟨⏑⟩ *ἂμ πέδον*: *ἀλλὰ πέδον* Dionys., of which Hermann's *ἄμ* is a natural emendation, but then a short syllable is wanting before *ἄμ*. ⟨*ἄρ'*⟩ (Blass) would serve.

17. For the alternative accents on *παγετον* cf. VI. 88. The word is commonly made oxytone; cf. Arcad. 81. 14 *πάγετος, ὅπερ ὀξύνει ἡ συνήθεια*, Eranius Philo, p. 172 *πάγετος μὲν τὸ κρύος, παγετὸς δὲ ὁ χειμών.*

18. *ῥέον* Schroeder for Dionys. *ἱερόν*. The scholium below this line confirms *ἢ νότιον θέρος*, but does not seem to have been illuminating.

22–33. It appears probable that a single column is the extent of the loss between ll. 18 and 34. This column would have contained fifteen or sixteen lines, giving an epode of the very suitable number either of ten verses, which is also the length of the strophe, or of eleven, for which there is an exact parallel in IV.

ll. 34–49. 'I have been perfected by some divine influence hard by the immortal couch of Melia to compose a noble strain with flute and cunning of the mind, for your sake. I supplicate thee, Far-darter, consecrating to the Muses' arts this shrine . . . wherein Oceanus' daughter Melia once shared thy couch, O god of Pytho, and bore mighty Tenerus, the chosen interpreter of heaven's decrees. To his care didst thou, father with unshorn locks, commit the host of Cadmus and the city of Zeathus, on account of his wise fortitude. For the sea-dwelling wielder of the trident honoured him above other mortals, and he hastened (to ?) the region of the Euripus . . .'

34, The use of *ἐκράνθην* is somewhat strange; the idea appears to be the need of divine help if the poet is to attain perfection in his art. *ἐπιτελεῖσθαι*, which is given as an equivalent, occurs in a different sense in Fr. 82. 20.

35. According to the explanation of the scholiast, the 'couch of Melia' means the Theban Ismenion, or temple of Apollo Ismenius. Melia, the daughter of Oceanus, was the mother of the seer Tenerus by Apollo, and like her son was revered at Thebes, where there was a spring which bore her name, close to the Ismenion; cf. ll. 41–3 below, *Pyth.* xi. 4–6 and Schol. *ad. loc.*, Pausan. ix. 10. 5, &c.

36. For the Doric infinitive *συνάγεν* cf. VI. 94, note, and for *θρόον*, *Nem.* vii. 81 *πολύφατον θρόον ὕμνων δόνει*. In the fragmentary scholium in the margin *με*[may well be part of the name Με[λία and *τη*[of Τή[νερος, e. g. *ἐν τούτῳ* [*τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν*] Με[λίαν *τεκεῖν φασι*] Τήν[ερον Ἀπόλλωνι. Cf. the preceding note.

38. The letters *τα* in *εκαταβολε* are crossed through, and also have dots above them; that *ἑκαβόλε* is here the correct form is proved by the metre.

39. *ἀν*[*α*]*τιθείς*: cf. *Pyth.* viii. 29–31 *ἀναθέμεν πᾶσαν μακραγορίαν λύρᾳ τε καὶ φθέγματι μαλθακῷ*, where, however, the verb has an abstract object.

40. The latter half of this line presents difficulties. λ and *ο* are clear, and if *τ*, which is nearly certain, is right, the intervening letter must be *ν*. It is doubtful whether the traces before λο represent two letters or only one; if there are two a *π* would be best for the first, though *η*, *ζ*, *ξ*, or perhaps *κ* might also be read; of the second there is only a small speck, which would suit any letter beginning with a more or less upright stroke. If on the other hand there is only one letter, it can hardly be other than *ω*, and some narrow letter should stand between it and the λ. – – λον *τ*' [*ὀπ*]*ί*, as suggested by Blass, would be attractive if a suitable word ending in λον could be found, though *ἐν ᾧ* in l. 41 would better accord with a single antecedent substantive. It is rather tempting to read [*ὃ̈ πο*[λ]λον *τ*[*εό*]*ν*; the supposed acute accent, of which only a tiny top remains, over the first syllable might well be a mark of elision or crasis, and the *ο*, though not very satisfactory, is possible. The difficulty lies in reading anything but *ι* for the final letter. *ι* and the second upright of *ν* are indistinguishable in form, but some part of the diagonal stroke of a *ν* would be expected to be visible. The papyrus, however, is damaged, and it is perhaps too much to say that a *ν* is to be excluded, though a restoration requiring it cannot be regarded as convincing. Bury suggests *τ*[*όθ*]*ι*, which might be accepted if no better solution is forthcoming.

41. On the myth of Tenerus cf. note on l. 35.

θεμίτ[*ων*: cf. Pindar Fr. 192 Δελφοὶ *θεμίστων* {*ὕμνων*} *μάντιες* Ἀπολλωνίδαι.

44. Κάδμου στρατὸν καὶ Ζεάθου πό[λιν : i. e. Thebes and the Thebans. Ζέαθος is apparently an otherwise unattested form of Ζῆθος, who with his twin brother Amphion took and fortified Thebes and was buried there.

47. There is not too much space for the ορ of 'Ορσ[ορ]ρίαινα, which is the regular Pindaric form (*Ol.* viii. 48, *Pyth.* ii. 12, *Nem.* iv. 86), and perhaps 'Ορσιτρ. was written; cf. ὀρσίκτυπος and ὀρσινεφής. 'Ορσιτρίαινα (ὄρνυμι) would have a different shade of meaning from that of 'Ορσοτρίαινα (ὀρσός).

48. Cf. *Pyth.* xi. 4–5 παὰ Μελίαν χρυσέων ἐς ἄδυτον τριπόδων θησαυρόν, ὃν περίαλλ' ἐτίμασε Λοξίας.

49. Without the complete context the meaning of συνέτεινε cannot be clearly defined, but it appears to be equivalent to *contendit*, 'hastened,' a sense found in late writers; cf. Bekker, *Anecd.* p. 64 συντείνειν· τὸ τρέχειν συντεταμένως, Plutarch *Nic.* 30 δρόμῳ συντείνας εἰς τὸ ἄστυ.

The subject of Fr. 139, where some one is said to have gone to Aulis and made prophecies there, is very probably Tenerus, but that note cannot be the continuation of μεταπο[ρευθῆναι λέγεται (?), for such an arrangement would make the distance between Col. iv and the next too great, and it is pretty clear from the width of its lower margin that Fr. 139 ran underneath a column (cf. Fr. 126. ii and Fr. 129), whereas μεταπο[ρευθῆναι does not. It is, however, likely enough that Fr. 139 comes from the bottom of the column following Col. iv and referred to a passage standing in close relation to Εὐρίπου τε συνέτεινε χῶρον.

Frs. 129–31. The metre shows that these two fragmentary columns do not belong to IX; the strophe or epode contained at least fourteen verses (ll. 2–15).

3. ἔνατ[with what seems to be the top of a mark of long quantity above the letter after the τ is presumably ἐνάτᾳ or ἐνάταν, and the references to an ἐννaετηρίς in the margin opposite and below the column are to be connected with this. This Theban δαφνηφορία was held δι' ἐννaετηρίδος according to Proclus, *Chrest. ap.* Photius *Bibl.* 239.

1–5. Scholium. Cf. Homer, *Il.* B 751 sqq. οἵ τ' ἀμφ' Ἰμερτὸν Τιταρήσιον ἔργ' ἐνέμοιτο, ὅς ῥ' ἐς Πηνειὸν προΐει καλλίρροον ὕδωρ . . . ὅρκου γὰρ δεινοῦ Στυγὸς ὕδατός ἐστιν ἀπορρώξ, the last line being partially quoted at the beginning of the note. The sentence is probably complete at Πηνειόν, and the word τινά seems to have occurred in the text. The space between ὄρ[κου κ.τ.λ. and λουστ[κ.τ.λ. indicates that the two lines belong to distinct notes.

6. Schol. below line. The number of letters lost in the gap between the two halves of this note is uncertain, but may be estimated at about sixteen. It is not possible to read διὰ θ ἔ[τ]ῶν, as would be expected (cf. note on l. 3); but perhaps ε is a graphical error for θ, or there may have been some question whether the δαφνηφορία occurred at intervals of five or of nine years. Pausanias (ix. 10. 4) says that a boy called δαφνηφόρος was made ἱερέα ἐνιαύσιον.

Frs. 132–3. If these two fragments are to be assigned to the foregoing column, they should be placed so that]ωσε[in Fr. 133 comes approximately over]κουγαρ (l. 5 schol.), and Fr. 132 above and in the same straight line with Fr. 133, the edges of the papyrus in neither case directly joining. We are led to this arrangement by the coincidence that the fragments, like Fr. 130, have a strengthening strip gummed on to the recto, and also show a selis. But since the recto is in both cases nearly blank, it is not absolutely certain (though probable) that these fragments belong to D rather than to C.

Fr. 131. ii. 12 πολιάοχ[: cf. *Ol.* v. 10 ὦ πολιάοχε Παλλάς.

14. ξενοκαδής is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον.

15. The paragraphus below this line marks the conclusion of a strophic section.

18. ιμ[: or perhaps τα[; the tops of the letters are lost.
19. κείνου is also a possibility, but not κεῖνον on account of the accent.
20. The accent indicates π[ρ]οβώμ[ιος or -ν.

Fr. 134. 3. The interlinear ικαδ[seems to be the same word as that which occurs in the reading attributed to Aristophanes in l. 9 εἰκάδιος, which, if sound, must be an adjective derived from εἰκάς, otherwise attested only as a proper name. According to the *Etym. Mag.* *s. v.* there was a festival of Apollo on the 20th of the month.
4.]ιτ( ) : or]ητ( ) (Κρ]ητ( )?).
9. Cf. note on l. 3.

Fr. 137. 2. The paragraphus below the line shows that ἔρχε[σθαι is the beginning of a sentence.

Fr. 139. Cf. note on IX. 49.]ο( ) in l. 2 is possibly Εὐριπ]ο( ).

Frs. 140–62. The recto of these small fragments is blank or practically so, and there is consequently no safe criterion for determining whether they belong to C or D. The texture and colour of the papyrus, however, suggests that Frs. 140, 146, and 161 come from D, and most of the others from C. Fr. 151 perhaps does not belong to this papyrus.

Fr. 145. 2. The letters are only slightly smaller than those above, and since the two lines are the ordinary distance apart,]δεον[may be part of the text, not of a scholium.

Fr. 154.]ω followed by a dot is an interlinear variant. The circumflex accent is doubtful.

Fr. 156. 1. The supposed mark of length over *a* may be a mark of short quantity or a grave accent.

Fr. 161. Cf. IX. Col. iv and Fr. 138.

Fr. 162. 1. This line is in a different hand from that of the rest of the text, and seems to be over an erasure. The hand of ll. 2–3, however, indicates that the fragment, which probably is from the bottom of a column, belongs to C–D.

842. THEOPOMPUS (OR CRATIPPUS), *Hellenica.*

Height 21·2 cm. Plates IV and V (Cols. v–vi and xi–xii.).

Since the discovery of the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία in 1890 Egypt has not produced any historical papyrus at all comparable in importance to these portions of a lost Greek historian, obviously of the first rank, dealing in minute detail with the events of the Greek world in the years 396 and 395 B. C. The papyrus, which with the exception of the manuscript of Plato's *Symposium* (843) is the largest literary text that has been found at Oxyrhynchus, originally consisted of about 230 fragments of varying sizes. These have been so far pieced together that only about fifty-five, none of which is large, remain unplaced, and it is improbable that further efforts at combination will yield results of much importance. Like the manuscript of Pindar's Paeans (841) the historical work, though written in uncials, is on the verso of an official document. This is a land-survey register giving a long list of cultivators, and the entries in most

cases follow the same scheme, which gives (1) the geographical relation of the plot of land in question to its predecessor, (2) the name of the owner or lessee, (3) the rent and area, (4) the adjacent plots, (5) the changes introduced with regard to rent. The village of Ibion Argaei, which was in the south-west of the Arsinoite nome, is mentioned as being in the vicinity of one of the plots of land, and the land-survey was no doubt drawn up at some village near Ibion, but whether the historical work was also written in that district or at Oxyrhynchus is uncertain. Various years, ranging from the 4th to the 12th, of an unnamed emperor are mentioned, and the handwriting shows that he belonged to the second century. Since the survey was probably written soon after the 12th year, the reign of Commodus, which in Egypt was reckoned from his father's accession and therefore begins with his 20th year, is out of the question; the reign of Hadrian or Antoninus is as likely to be meant as that of Marcus Aurelius. The land-survey has of course been of the utmost service in determining the place of detached fragments of the historian, and is in itself of no slight interest: the text of portions of it will be given in Part VI. The writing in some places is concealed by strips of papyrus which were gummed on in order to strengthen the roll when the verso came to be used.

Of the historical work at least twenty-one columns are to be distinguished, written in two hands. Postponing for the moment the question of the right order of these columns, and assuming the correctness of the numbers assigned to them by us, the first hand is responsible for Cols. i–iv, vi. 27–xxi, and all the loose fragments except Frs. 3 and perhaps 16. The scribe employs a small neat uncial of the sloping oval type, representing a transitional stage between the earlier specimens of this style, e.g. the Oxyrhynchus papyrus of Demosthenes' Προοίμια δημηγορικά (**26**) of the late first or early second century, and the ordinary third century type illustrated e.g. by **23** and **232**. N at the end of a line is generally indicated by a horizontal stroke above the final letter, a practice already found in the second century, and a few of the conventional abbreviations occur at the ends of lines, κ′ for καί in ix. 25, xiv. 13, xx. 20 and 25, μ′ for μέν in xviii. 24 and 35, these being similar to the abbreviations found in e.g. the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία. A peculiar characteristic of this scribe is his tendency (especially at the ends of lines) to combine the letters M and H or H and N so that the last vertical stroke of the first letter serves also as the first of the second, e.g. Ισμη[νιαν in xiii. 10, μηνων in xvi. 2, την in xix. 36. The beginning of a new section is marked by a coronis or paragraphus, a small blank space being left where the transition occurs in the middle of a line; but there are no stops, and only two accents (xx. 36, Fr. 45. 3), and a couple of breathings (xi. 2, xx. 32). Diaereses are sometimes placed over ι and υ. In a few cases omitted words or letters have

been inserted above the line by the scribe himself (xii. 25, xvi. 2, xxi. 18 and 33, Fr. 33. 8), but not nearly so often as was desirable, the number of words omitted being considerable; cf. i. 5, note. Some serious corruptions occur, e. g. προς Παρνην πολιν for παρ Ταμπολιν in xv. 26, Πήγης (*sic*) for Περσης in xx. 36, ουτω for υπο in xvi. 31 (cf. also i. 27, vi. 12, xii. 27, 39, xiv. 15, xx. 31, and xxi. 32), and the spelling of proper names is frequently inconsistent, cf. e. g. xii. 34–5, note. The second hand, which is responsible for v. 1–vi. 27 with Frs. 3 and perhaps 16, is smaller and rougher than the first. N at the end of a line is often written as a horizontal stroke; and a diaeresis occurs in v. 44. Stops (high points) are freely employed, a slight space being also left to mark the pause, and sometimes the space occurs where the stop is omitted; cf. v. 1, note. A paragraphus is found in vi. 10 marking a transition which the first hand would have ignored. In the margin against v. 45 occurs δ̄, perhaps denoting the 400th line of the MS.; cf. note *ad loc.* Unlike the first scribe, the second hand writes ι adscript. A slip occurs in vi. 18. With regard to the date of the MS., the survey on the recto was, as we have said, written about the middle of the second century, and we should ascribe the text on the verso to the end of that century or the early part of the third. A late third-century date is out of the question. The first hand is not very uniform either in the size or spacing of his letters; at the end of a line they are sometimes very small and cramped, and the beginnings of lines tend gradually to move further to the left as the column proceeds. Hence, though the columns measure about 16·7 × 9 cm. with tolerable regularity, there is much variation in the number of lines in a column and the number of letters in a line. Col. i has only 37 lines, but Col. ii has 40, Col. iii 43, and Col. iv. 42 (?). In Col. vii the number is as high as 45, the scribe being influenced by the more compact writing employed by the second hand, who in Col. v, the only extant column entirely due to him, reaches the exceptionally large number of 60 lines; even Col. vi, which is divided between the two scribes, has 53. After Col. vii the numbers tend to diminish again. Col. viii has 42 lines, Cols. xi–xii, xv, xviii–xxi 39, Cols. xiii, xiv and xvii 40, Col. xvi 38. Few lines by the first hand exceed 45 or fall below 35 letters, the average being about 40. In vi. 5–27, the only complete or nearly complete lines by the second hand, the average is also about 40. Cols. i–ii, vi, and xi–xxi, representing about two-thirds of a total of approximately 800 lines, are well preserved, and in all but a few passages admit of a satisfactory restoration of the lacunae. Of Col. iii only about half of each line is extant, and in Cols. v, vii, and viii still less, but the sense can occasionally be caught; Cols. iv, ix, and x, however, are hopeless.

These twenty-one columns are not continuous, but are divided into four

distinct sections, separated from each other by gaps of uncertain length in which several columns are or may be missing. We have called these sections A, B, C, and D. A consists of Cols. i–iv, including Frs. 1 and 2, only i–ii and iii–iv being continuous, but that Col. iii with Fr. 1 follows immediately after Col. ii is certain both from internal evidence and from the recto; cf. iii. 1–5, note. Whether the small Fr. 2 belongs to iii. 40–43, as we suppose, is more doubtful. B consists of Cols. v–viii with Frs. 3–7, and contains Cols. v, vi and the beginnings of lines of vii on the same piece of papyrus. The place of Frs. 3, 4, and 7, though separated from the main body of B, is definitely fixed (cf. notes on v. 41, vii. 1–2, and viii. 3); hence it is certain that Col. viii immediately follows vii. That Frs. 5 and 6 belong to Col. vii is practically secure, and we have assigned them to ll. 16–24 and 35–41 respectively, but their exact position is doubtful; cf. notes *ad loc.* C contains only the two quite fragmentary Cols. ix and x with Frs. 8–15, which seem to belong to this section. D, by far the largest section, has Cols. xi–xxi, which are continuous.

The first problem that arises is the order of these four sections, which unfortunately is in some respects not clear, in spite of the fact that our author (whom in order not to prejudice the question of his identity with any known historian we henceforth call P) seems to have arranged his work on chronological principles almost as strictly as Thucydides and much more carefully than Xenophon. That D comes after A and B is certain from internal evidence, for it contains (xviii. 33 sqq.) the account of the campaign of Agesilaus in the late summer and autumn of 395, whereas B narrates (v. 6–vii. 4) his campaign in the spring and early summer of the same year, and the general description of the anti-Spartan feeling in Greece in A (i. 33 sqq.) must obviously have preceded the much more detailed account in D of the Theban intrigues which led first to the war with Phocis and then to an open breach with Sparta (xi. 34 sqq.). That D comes last of the four sections is also indicated by the land-survey on the recto, the writing of which runs in the opposite direction to that of the verso, and which accordingly begins on the other side of Col. xxi. For Col. i of the land-survey is in a different hand from the rest, and follows a different formula, being apparently a register of land *καθ' ὕδατος*, and concluding *γίνο(νται) καθ' ὕδατος (ἄρουραι) ψκη∠ισλβξδ, ὧν ἡ ποσεία*, referring apparently to the following detailed survey-list, though only in a few cases is it stated that individual plots were under water. Hence the presumption is that the land-survey on the recto of A, B, and C comes later than that of D, i.e. that the writing on the verso of A, B, and C precedes D. With regard to the position of C (Cols. ix–x), owing to its hopelessly mutilated condition there is no internal evidence to guide us, so that beyond the presumption just indicated that it precedes D its relation to the

other sections is wholly uncertain, and it may be placed before A, between A and B, or between B and D. Our choice of the last alternative is quite arbitrary, and the question is of secondary importance. The main problem with regard to the order of the sections concerns A and B—which of these two is to be placed first? The external evidence is conflicting. On the one hand, before Col. i of A is a blank margin 4½ cm. in width, whereas the ordinary width of the margin between two columns of this papyrus is only 1½ cm. Since Col. i. 1 is obviously the beginning of a new chapter it is clear that the broad margin before it is no mere accident, and that Col. i is either the absolute beginning of the roll, or was intentionally separated widely from preceding columns in order to mark the commencement of a new division (probably a new book) of the author's work. That the roll originally extended beyond the present starting-point of A is known from the land-survey on the recto of the margin of Col. i, which breaks off in the middles of lines; but since no regard would be paid to the writing on the recto when the verso came to be used, it is quite possible that the vertical fracture down the left edge of the margin of A is the result not of injury when the MS. was thrown away, but of design when the verso was prepared for use. On the other hand A is written by the second of the two scribes who appear in B, so that if A follows B it is necessary to assume only one change of hands, whereas if A precedes B it must be supposed that the first scribe gave way to the second at some point in the gap between Cols. iv and v and then resumed at vi. 27. The hypothesis that B comes first has therefore the advantage of greater simplicity, and is supported by the analogy of the land-survey, in which we justifiably used the identity of the hand on the recto of A, B, and C with the second hand on the recto of D as an argument for placing the recto of A–C after D. In fact, the priority of B to A has so much prima facie probability that at first and for a long time we adopted that sequence; it was only when we came to examine in detail the historical problems connected with A that we decided to place it before B. The relative order of these two sections makes a considerable difference to the interpretation of A, for since B is known from other sources to refer to the spring and early summer of 395, the *θέρος* in A iii. 9, on which the whole chronology of A depends, must, if A comes after B, refer to 395, whereas, if A precedes B, the summer of 396 is meant, an earlier year being for various reasons out of the question. A unfortunately mentions no event of which the precise date is fixed by independent evidence, for though the arrival of Conon's reinforcements from Phoenicia (iii. 23–7) is also recorded by Diodorus, that historian's account of the naval war is too brief and his chronology too uncertain to help in choosing between the rival dates for the events recorded in A. The two principal difficulties which

arise from the attribution of A to 395 instead of 396, and which have therefore induced us to place A before B, are discussed in detail in the notes on iii. 9, 21, and 23–6. To summarize the results there reached, the view that the *θέρος* in iii. 9 refers to 395 inevitably leads to the conclusion that the year which P took as a kind of fresh starting-point after the close of the Peloponnesian war corresponds to the archonship of Micon 402–1, in which no incident of particular note took place, whereas the view that the *θέρος* is that of 396 will make P's starting-point after the war 403–2, approximately the archonship of Euclides, which is a most natural and reasonable year to select for the commencement of a fresh epoch. Secondly, the hypothesis that A concerns 395 leads to great confusion with regard to the Spartan *ναύαρχοι*, of whom two seem to arrive in the same summer, an inference which can only be avoided by encountering worse obstacles, whereas if A refers to 396 all difficulty is removed. Thirdly, the view that A concerns 396 has the advantage of allowing more time for the change of policy on the part of the moderate democrats at Athens with regard to a war with Sparta; cf. i. 16, note. We therefore prefer the arrangement adopted in the text, according to which A precedes B and relates to 396; and seeing that A in any case begins a new division or book, we are disposed to regard it as the actual commencement of the whole roll. A parallel for the changes of hands, whereby the portion written by a second scribe comes between two portions written by the first, is to be found in the MS. of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*. There the third hand, which begins in Col. xx and continues up to the end of the second roll at Col. xxiv, is also responsible for the fourth roll containing Cols. xxxi–vii, the intervening roll containing Cols. xxv–xxx being written by the fourth hand.

We proceed to a short analysis of the contents of the papyrus, which for the convenience of future reference we have divided into chapters and sections, though in the present edition we generally refer to columns and lines only. A commences with an account of the sailing from Athens of a trireme commanded by a certain Demaenetus without official sanction to assist Conon, and the unsuccessful efforts of the Spartan harmost at Aegina to intercept it (i. 1–iii. 7). This incident, to which a passing allusion occurs in Aeschines (cf. i. 3, note), is of slight importance; but the commotion at Athens caused by it enables P to give a very interesting description of the attitude towards Sparta of the various Athenian parties at the time (i. 9–ii. 1), from which he diverges into an important excursus upon the origin of the anti-Spartan feeling in Greece (ii. 1–35). The adjectives used by P in describing the contending parties at Athens and his severe judgement upon the extreme democrats, whom he not only charges with accepting Persian bribes but with desiring a war with Sparta for purely selfish reasons (i. 33, note), betray his aristocratic proclivities;

but on the other hand he controverts strongly the theory, no doubt put forward by the Spartans, that the mission of Timocrates was instrumental in bringing about the anti-Spartan league, and exhibits a considerable historical insight into the political situation, of which he takes on the whole a very just view. The first of a long series of conflicts with Xenophon occurs in connexion with the date of the sending of Timocrates, whom Xenophon (supported by Pausanias and Plutarch) represents as dispatched by Tithraustes in the summer of 395, while P connects him with Pharnabazus (therein agreeing with Polyaenus), and implies that the mission took place much earlier, i.e. in 397 or early in 396. P and Xenophon also come into conflict on the question of the acceptance of Timocrates' bribes by the Athenians, and the part played by those bribes in bringing about the anti-Spartan confederacy, on both of which points P's version is again, in our opinion, superior (i. 33, note). An allusion to Pharax as *ὁ πρότερον ναύαρχος* goes far to solve the much disputed problem of the date of that admiral's year of office (i. 30, note). The mention of Timolaus in connexion with the opposition to Sparta at Corinth gives rise to a digression on some former exploits of his in the Decelean war. These are not mentioned by Thucydides, and the fact that the second one, which probably occurred just after the latest events recorded by that historian, had already been noticed by P probably in its proper chronological position, is an important indication of the scope of our author's work (ii. 17, note).

In iii. 7 begins a new chapter (IV), which starts by recording the commencement of a new year (the 8th) from the event chosen by P as a fresh point of departure after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war. Unfortunately the lacunae, which prevent any continuous restoration of Col. iii after l. 5, render the interpretation of this crucial passage doubtful in several respects, and it is not clear whether the *θέρος* with which the new year begins is the spring or mid-summer, or what event was taken as the commencement of the epoch. Unless, however, A is placed after B (cf. p. 114), the archonship of Euclides (403–2) seems to be the first year on the new reckoning, and the *θέρος* is that of 396, not 395 (iii. 9, note). The rest of Col. iii (11–43) is concerned with the naval war, to which P gives great prominence (cf. xi. 1–34, xv. 32–xviii. 33), and of which he shows the most detailed knowledge, especially with regard to Conon. He thus presents a marked contrast to Xenophon, who after mentioning the stir caused at Sparta in the winter of 397–6 by the news of the Persian naval preparations (*Hell.* iii. 4. 1–2) entirely ignores Conon's proceedings until the battle of Cnidus in 394 (which itself is only introduced incidentally in iv. 3. 10–14 in connexion with the news of it reaching Agesilaus), in order that the stage may be left free for the Spartan king. That Xenophon was himself conscious of his deficiency is shown by his excuses in iv. 8. 1, where he justifies his silence concerning the naval war

on the ground that he was only describing *τῶν πράξεων τὰς ἀξιομνημονεύτους*. The narrative in Chapter IV is for the most part too incomplete to be intelligible, but the arrival of a new Spartan *ναύαρχος*, probably Pollis, is chronicled (cf. iii. 21 note), and at the same time (apparently the summer of 396) Conon, whose headquarters were at Caunus in Caria, receives reinforcements from Phoenicia. This event is also referred to by Diodorus in words so similar that they must be derived directly or indirectly from P, though probably with an error as to the chronology, for Diodorus puts the arrival of the Phoenician ships after the revolt of Rhodes, whereas P seems to place the revolt after the arrival of the reinforcements, which is much more likely to be correct (iii. 23–6, note, where the vexed question of the chronology of the naval war is discussed in full). Whether the scanty remains of Col. iv, with which A concludes, are also concerned with the naval war or deal with a fresh subject is uncertain. The gap between A and B need not be very extensive, for apart from Agesilaus' doings in Asia no events of much importance took place in 396, unless indeed P took account of Sicilian history, which is not probable, and the dispatch of Agesilaus to Asia and the early part of the campaign are likely to have been described before Col. i in the preceding book or division of P's work.

B, where it becomes intelligible, begins with an account of Agesilaus' campaign in the spring and early summer of 395, which occupies v. 6–vii. 4, v. 1–5 being perhaps concerned with his preparations during the winter, but possibly with quite a different subject. The narrative is not only more detailed than Xenophon's two accounts of this campaign in the *Hellenica* and *Agesilaus*, but differs widely from them, particularly as to the disposition of Tissaphernes' forces, of which the infantry were according to Xenophon sent by mistake to Caria, and the nature of the chief engagement which resulted according to both authorities in the capture of the Persian camp. On the other hand P agrees closely with the somewhat less detailed account of Diodorus, especially with regard to Agesilaus' route (v. 8, note), the part taken in the campaign by the Persian infantry, on which point Pausanias supports Diodorus (v. 13-6, note), the formation of the Greek troops in column (v. 9, note), the description of the ambush by which the Greeks secured the victory (v. 59, note), and Agesilaus' withdrawal from the interior owing to unfavourable auspices (vi. 30, note). There are some discrepancies between P and Diodorus concerning firstly the number of the Persian forces (v. 13–6, note) and of the slain (vi. 21, note), and secondly the manœuvres connected with the ambush; apart, however, from these inconsiderable differences there is, except some conventional details added to Diodorus' account of the ambush (e. g. the fact that the Greeks raised a paean, as is usual in Diodorus' battles), really nothing in his account of this campaign that is not

found in P. In fact Diodorus' narrative looks like an abridgement of P with some variations of the language, which rarely coincides verbally with that of P. Whether P's or Xenophon's account is superior in credibility is open to dispute, but P's version has considerable claims to acceptance in spite of the fact that Xenophon is apparently describing the campaign from first-hand knowledge (v. 59, note). The rest of B, vii. 4–viii. 42 (Chapter VIII), deals in most elaborate detail with the superseding of Tissaphernes by Tithraustes and the assassination of the former, events which are briefly recorded by Xenophon in a few words. This chapter is badly mutilated, and no continuous restoration is possible; but enough remains to trace the close agreement between P and firstly Diodorus, who again seems to be giving an abridgement of P, and secondly Polyaenus, who is fuller than Diodorus but somewhat less detailed than P (vii. 4, 21–5, 36–41, viii. 18, 21, 26, 27–30, notes). The story told by Nepos that Tissaphernes' replacement by Tithraustes was brought about by Conon finds no confirmation, and the date for Conon's visit to the Persian court indicated by Nepos and supported by Pausanias (the winter of 396–5), which has generally been preferred to the date implied by Diodorus (the winter of 395–4), is clearly inconsistent with P, who probably agreed with Diodorus on this point (vii. 4, note; cf. xv. 37, note). Persian affairs are still under discussion when B breaks off. A later reference to the negotiations between Tithraustes and Agesilaus (xviii. 37, note) shows that the account of these occurred in the gap between B and D, probably in the column following viii. This gap also comprised the earlier portion of the account of the revolution at Rhodes, of which the conclusion is extant in Col. xi, but whether C, containing the two fragmentary columns ix and x, is rightly placed between B and D is wholly uncertain; cf. pp. 113–4. Nothing can be made out of these two columns except that in Col. x P seems to be giving an appreciative character-sketch of some general or politician whose identity is uncertain (ix. 16, note).

When D, by far the longest and best preserved section of the papyrus, begins, P has reverted to the naval war, xi. 1–34 describing a revolution at Rhodes whereby the democrats with the connivance of Conon overthrew the existing oligarchic government, which was in the hands of the Diagoreans, one of the leading Rhodian families. Xenophon ignores this revolution, to which there is a brief allusion in a quotation from Androtion in Pausanias. It has hitherto been connected closely with the revolt of Rhodes from Sparta, which is mentioned by Diodorus, but P now shows that the two events were by no means contemporaneous, the revolution taking place in the summer of 395, the revolt from Sparta in the preceding winter or earlier (iii. 23–6, xi. 1, notes). The mention of the Diagoreans throws an interesting light on the treatment of an illustrious member of that family, Dorieus, by the Spartans (xi. 10, note), and

the reference to Conon's two chief lieutenants, Hieronymus and Nicophemus, supplies another point of contact with Diodorus (xi. 10–1, note). The cautious policy of Conon and the moderation displayed by the victorious democrats receive due recognition from P, who here shows no trace of an aristocratic bias. In xi. 34 the subject changes to the war between Boeotia and Phocis in the summer of 395, but this is not actually reached until xiv. 16 sqq., since P enters upon a series of digressions. A mention of the state of faction existing at Thebes (xi. 35–8) leads to what is the most valuable portion of the whole papyrus, a description of the constitution of Boeotia in 395 (xi. 38–xii. 31), which settles a number of important and highly disputed questions, and provides much new information. The nature of the four boulai referred to by Thucydides is explained, and while Köhler is shown to be right in connecting them with the four boulai which the oligarchs at Athens wished to set up in 411, the surprising fact is now ascertained that these boulai belonged to the individual cities of the league, not to the federation as a whole, which had a single boule of 660 members not invested with the supreme powers of the local boulai. The vexed question of the number of the Boeotarchs at the time of the Peloponnesian war is fixed at eleven, corresponding to a division of the Boeotians into eleven units, and what is still more important, we now have for the first time a complete list of the states forming the league and their distribution among the several units, according to which they shared the rights and duties of membership of the confederation (xi. 38, note). Of special interest are the details concerning the Boeotarchs appointed by Thebes (xii. 12–3, note), Orchomenus (xii. 16, note), and Tanagra (xii. 17, note). In xii. 31 P reverts to parties at Thebes, about which he shows himself very well informed. The description of the anti-Spartan faction is on the whole very impartial, and the analysis of their motives shows considerable historical acumen (xiii. 10, note; cf. xiv. 6 sqq.). A reference to the change in the Theban policy caused by the control of public affairs passing from the pro-Spartan to the anti-Spartan party leads to another interesting digression (xiii. 15 sqq.) upon the causes of the increase of Boeotian prosperity in the forty years preceding 395, and this excursus leads on to yet another (xiii. 36–xiv. 5) upon the lavish adornment of Attica in the same period. P then, after describing the political schemes of the anti-Spartan party (xiv. 6–21), at length reaches the origin of the Boeotian war. His account of the intrigues from which it arose (xiv. 21–xv. 15) is not only more detailed than Xenophon's, but differs in several important particulars—e.g. on the questions whether the Locrians concerned in the border dispute were the Opuntian (so Xen.) or the Hesperian (so P and Pausanias), whether the first act of aggression came from the side of the Locrians (so Xen. and Paus.) or from the Phocians

(so P), and what methods were employed by the Theban instigators of the war. The unsuccessful attempt of the Spartans to settle the dispute peaceably (xv. 7–11), which is recorded by no other historian, puts the policy of Sparta with regard to Boeotia in a new light, and this does not harmonize very well with the subsequent state of feeling at Sparta as described by Xenophon, whose account of the origin of this war is perhaps preferable in some respects to that of P (xiv. 21, note). The details of the invasion of Phocis (xv. 15–32) are all new but of no special interest. Incidentally P's treatment of the whole dispute between the Phocians and the Locrians provides some important indications that he wrote his account before the conclusion, at any rate, of the Sacred War; cf. p. 134.

In xv. 32–xviii. 33 P once more returns to the naval war, and begins by recording the arrival (in the late summer) of a hitherto unknown Spartan *ναύαρχος* Cheiricrates, thereby producing a conflict with Xenophon, who represents Pisander as having been appointed *ναύαρχος* by Agesilaus at about this period (xv. 33, note). An otherwise unrelated visit of Conon to Sardis in order to obtain money (xv. 37, note) leads to a digression on the financial difficulties experienced by Greeks in the pay of Persia (xvi. 3–15). A passage which implies that the Persian empire was still standing shows that this history was composed before the conquest of Persia by Alexander (xiv. 3, note). After narrating the results of Conon's mission and the departure of Tithraustes for the Persian court (xvi. 16–29), P proceeds to describe minutely a mutiny at Caunus of Conon's forces upon the return of their commander. This event, which nearly led to the dispersion of Conon's fleet, has been passed over by all historians except Justin, whose reference to it, though brief, seems to be derived indirectly from P (xvi. 29, note). The revolt was ultimately quelled by the efforts of Conon, whose *προθυμία* receives special praise from our author (xviii. 32). In xvi. 33 P reverts to Agesilaus, and describes his campaign in the late summer and autumn of 395 up to his arrival at Dascylium, where he passed the winter, at which point the papyrus breaks off. Diodorus omits this campaign altogether, and, as in the account of the war in the earlier half of the year (v. 6–vii. 4), P differs widely from Xenophon, who, omitting the not very exciting incidents of Agesilaus' march, concentrates his descriptive powers upon one or two episodes which were capable of picturesque treatment, e.g. the negotiations of Agesilaus with the king of Paphlagonia and later with Pharnabazus. P, on the other hand, gives a plain, straightforward account of the military operations, showing considerable acquaintance with the geography of Asia Minor and the details of the campaign (xviii. 39, note). When he reaches the Paphlagonian incident he devotes only a few lines to it, but manages nevertheless to conflict

with Xenophon both about the name of the Paphlagonian king (on this point being also in disagreement with Theopompus and Nepos), and the method by which the negotiations were conducted (xx. 37, note). A description of an ambush (xix. 22-39) resembles with slight variations that in v. 59 sqq. Concerning Spithradates, a Persian noble who deserted to Agesilaus, somewhat less information is given than by Xenophon; but with regard to Spithradates' son Megabates P speaks openly of Agesilaus' attachment to him, which is only hinted at in the *Hellenica*, though amply illustrated by the *Agesilaus* (xx. 9, note). The papyrus concludes in the middle of a description of an abortive scheme for invading Cappadocia, concerning which country erroneous geographical ideas prevailed even down to Roman times (xxi. 35-9, note). The unplaced fragments (16-72) are too small to give any historical information.

To summarize the chief characteristics of our author, we have in this papyrus a very elaborate and detailed work of a historian of obviously great importance, who shows himself equally well informed whether dealing with events in Greece, the campaigns of Agesilaus in Asia, or the naval war. In the arrangement of his material he has adopted an annalistic method, evidently imitated from Thucydides, whereby events are narrated in chronological order and divided into years beginning in the 'summer' (whether spring or midsummer is not clear), and he has not grouped together according to subject events separated by any considerable distance of time. Hence there are abrupt transitions to and from different parts of the world, e. g. the account of the origin of the Boeotian war is inserted between two chapters dealing with the naval war. Whether P adhered strictly to this chronological arrangement there is not sufficient evidence to show; but so far as the extant portions of his work go, he seems to keep closely to it. On the other hand he is extremely fond of digressions, whether excursions into earlier history, e. g. the exploits of Timolaus and the rise of Theban prosperity, or general descriptions which serve to illustrate the background of the events which he is recording, e. g. the sketch of the constitution of Boeotia. These digressions, though adding greatly to the interest and variety of P's work, are seldom very relevant, and cause serious interruptions to the narrative. How easily he was led on from one excursus to another is well illustrated, firstly by i. 20 sqq., where, starting from the privateering expedition of Demaenetus, he reaches the achievements of the Corinthian Timolaus in the Decelean war through the intermediate stages of the origin of the anti-Spartan feeling first at Athens, then in Greece in general, and at Corinth in particular,—secondly by xii. 31 sqq., where, from the war between Boeotia and Phocis, he proceeds through the description of parties at Thebes, the causes of the previous preponderance of the aristocrats and the growing prosperity of Thebes, to a sketch of the flourishing

condition of Attica prior to the fortification of Decelea. With regard to the scope of his work, it is clear that it included, besides the events of 396 and 395, the history of the seven years between 396 and the close of the Peloponnesian war, the year 403–2, corresponding approximately to the archonship of Euclides, being taken by P as marking a kind of epoch. That his history, however, did not begin with 403–2, but comprised that portion of the Peloponnesian war which Thucydides did not live to narrate, is rendered probable by the reference to a former description of an incident of B.C. 411 in ii. 27. Since events prior to 411 are several times mentioned, but in no case with a reference to a former description of them, there is a strong presumption that P's history began where Thucydides' left off, and was intended to be a continuation of it. To what point beyond 395 the narrative was carried there is no internal evidence to show, except that which indicates the period of the composition of the work itself. The description of the constitution of Boeotia, which is contrasted with the conditions existing in the writer's own day, was certainly written after 387, when at the peace of Antalcidas the Boeotian league underwent considerable changes. On the other hand the fact that the Persian empire is spoken of in terms implying that it was still standing (cf. p. 120), proves that P's history was not written later than 330, and the use of the present tense in regard to the border disputes between Phocis and Locris, coupled with the absence of any reference to the Sacred War which resulted in the destruction of the Phocians, indicates that P's work was composed before the conclusion of that war in 346, to say nothing of the general probability that an author so well informed (cf. e. g. the extremely minute description of the mutiny in xvi. 29 sqq., which is likely to have been obtained from an eyewitness) was not writing more than a couple of generations later than the events which he narrates. It is therefore possible that the history reached a point some twenty or thirty years later than 395, but considering its elaborate scale this is not at all likely, and there is nothing to suggest that it went further than the battle of Cnidus in 394, with which Theopompus' *Hellenica* concluded.

That P's sympathies were aristocratic not democratic, and therefore on the whole with Sparta, is shown by his description of the parties at Athens, particularly his opinion of the motives influencing the extreme section of the democrats. In his account also of the intrigues which led to the Boeotian war he seems to acquiesce in the Spartan claims to the hegemony of Greece at this period. But so far from laying himself open to the charge of exaggerated partisanship, P compares favourably with Xenophon by his impartiality. While admitting (probably rightly) the fact of the acceptance of Persian gold by the Athenians in common with the Thebans, Argives, and Corinthians, he expressly defends those states from the accusation of Medizing, by controverting the pro-Spartan view

and minimizing the extent to which the mission of Timocrates was responsible for creating the anti-Spartan league. The moderation of the section of the Athenian democratic party headed by Thrasybulus and Anytus and of the victorious democrats at Rhodes is plainly recognized, and it is noteworthy that the leaders of the anti-Spartan faction at Thebes are classed among the *βέλτιστοι καὶ γνωριμώτατοι* no less than their opponents. Of an anti-Theban bias, which is so marked in Xenophon, there is no trace; and it is clear that P wished to do full justice to the chief enemy and destined conqueror of Sparta. A still more remarkable example of his fairness towards Sparta's enemies is the prominence assigned by him to Conon, who figures no less conspicuously than Agesilaus, while there is a noticeable contrast between the dry and unenthusiastic catalogue of Agesilaus' achievements, which evoke hardly a word of praise, and the more lively narrative of the incidents of the naval war with its outspoken expression of admiration for Conon's skill in overcoming difficulties (xviii. 32). Nothing illustrates P's merits as a historian and his superiority to Xenophon better than the correct perspective in which he draws the two chief actors on his stage, refusing to allow the brilliant and showy but ultimately fruitless triumphs of Agesilaus in the East to obscure the slow but in the end successful steps by which Conon destroyed the Spartan sea power and restored Athens to a position among the leading Greek states.

A characteristic of P, which separates him from most Greek historians, is his dislike of rhetoric and apparent avoidance of speeches, of which there is only one consisting of but nine words (xi. 22–3), so that he almost seems to have taken the eighth book of Thucydides as his model. Allowance must, however, be made not only for the fact that the events recorded in the extant fragments do not offer any very favourable opportunities for inserting speeches (even Thucydides in Books i–vii and Xenophon have long sections without them), but also for the possibility that speeches occurred in the lost portions of P's history. His seeming divergence from the common method of employing speeches to indicate motives and illustrate situations is compensated by a frequent analysis of causes, which shows much historical insight into the politics of the early fourth century, e. g. the discussions of the growth of anti-Spartan feeling in Greece, and of the policy of the anti-Spartan party at Thebes. That our author was sparing in comments, whether of approval or of the reverse, upon the actions of his characters is clear; it is unfortunate that the only passage in which he seems to have entered on a general criticism of some one's character is hopelessly mutilated (Col. x).

While P's excellences as a narrator of facts, his wealth of information, his impartiality, his acuteness of judgement, and his seriousness, entitle him to very

high place among Greek historians, it is impossible to award much praise to his style. This, though correct and easy, is somewhat frigid, colourless, and verbose, rather like that of Polybius, and its monotonous flow is but seldom stirred to a little life, as in the descriptions of the democratic rising at Rhodes, the mutiny of Conon's troops, and the adornment of Attica. So far from displaying any richness of vocabulary, he is decidedly careless about repeating words at very short intervals, and shows a marked fondness for certain expressions, e.g. *βαδίζειν*, *παροξύνειν*, and *τυγχάνειν* with a participle in place of the simple verb. *μὲν . . . δέ* are wont to recur with dull regularity, and the tendency to overload sentences with participles and parentheses, e.g. xiv. 8–16, sometimes produces a heavy effect. Some words and phrases recall Polybius, e.g. (*ταῖς πόλεσι*) *ταῖς προειρημέναις* (ii. 32), *πληγή* (xv. 20, xix. 25), *καταζεύξας* (xix. 18). With *χαρίεντες* in i. 9 cf. Ar. *Pol.* Z 5, 1320 b 7. The nearest parallel to the curious expression *βοήσαντος ἐκείνου τὴν* [*βο*]*ήθειαν* in xi. 23 is *βοᾶν ἄκρατον* in Menander Fr. 510 (Kock). The hypothesis that he wrote his work later than 346 is excluded by internal evidence (cf. p. 122), and the style does not suggest a much earlier date. Hiatus is as a rule avoided, even at the cost of producing an unnatural order of words, e.g. ii. 34 *ἐπηρμένοι μισεῖν ἦσαν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους*, and xi. 22 *ἴωμεν ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔφη, πολῖται, ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράννους*. Eight instances, however (cf. i. 4, note), of hiatus occur, and though most of these can be got rid of without difficulty by slight alterations of the text, we have preferred to allow them to stand. The avoidance of hiatus proves little as regards the date of composition, for it is common to the Isocrateans, Polybius, and even Plutarch.

Turning to P's relation to other historians, everything in the papyrus leads to the conclusion that he was quite independent of Xenophon, and it is not even certain that Xenophon's *Hellenica* was published before P wrote his work, for the *Hellenica* is now generally supposed to have been issued between 360 and 350, and the limits within which P composed his history are 387 and 346; cf. p. 122. If the *Hellenica* was published first, P shows a complete disregard for it, not only describing much that Xenophon had omitted, but frequently conflicting with him where the two writers cover the same ground. P may even have intended his work to be a contrast to Xenophon's onesided and unsatisfactory account. With Diodorus P exhibits a remarkably close connexion ; Diod. xiv. 80, which describes Agesilaus' campaign in the early part of 395 and the supersession of Tissaphernes, is practically an abridgement of v–viii, and with regard to the naval war also Diodorus (xiv. 79. 4–8) has obtained his scanty details from P, though in the process apparently disturbing the sequence of events. The question whether the use of P by Diodorus was direct or indirect we postpone until we reach the question of P's identity (cf. pp. 135–7), but we may remark that

with the discovery of P the criticism of Diod. xiii and xiv in any case enters on a new phase. Another late writer with whom P exhibits some noteworthy cases of agreement, though to a less extent than with Diodorus, is Polyaenus, whose account of the removal of Tissaphernes (*Strat.* vii. 16) seems to be an abridgement of vii–viii, and who alone of ancient writers agrees with P in associating the mission of Timocrates with Pharnabazus instead of with Tithraustes, though it is possible that this may be due to an accident (i. 33, note). Pausanias, too, presents some points of connexion with P, but generally mingled with points of difference. Thus he agrees with P that Epicrates and Cephalus took Persian gold (i. 33, note), and like P associates Amphitheus (whom he calls Amphithemis) with Ismenias and Androclidas (xii. 34–5, note); but on the date of Pisander's appointment as *ναύαρχος* (xv. 33, note) and that of Timocrates' mission and its effects he agrees with Xenophon against P, the view which Pausanias accepted being expressly controverted in ii. 1 sqq. Again with regard to the origin of the Boeotian war Pausanias agrees with P against Xenophon that the Locrians concerned were the Hesperian, not the Opuntian; but the embassy of the Athenians mentioned by Pausanias is not at all likely to have occurred in P's narrative, and Pausanias, like Xenophon, makes the Locrians the aggressors. On the question whether Tissaphernes' infantry took part in the campaign round Sardis Pausanias agrees with P against Xenophon, but his allusion to it is very brief, and that he himself used P in composing iii. 9 is most unlikely, though P may have to some extent influenced Pausanias' sources. The only ancient historian who mentions the mutiny of Conon's troops described in xvi. 29 sqq. is Justin, whose reference though brief seems to be derived ultimately from P. In the other late writers we have been unable to detect any trace of P's influence. With Nepos P comes into conflict both concerning the nature of the campaign of 395 and the date of the visit of Conon to the Persian court and his responsibility for the dismissal of Tissaphernes, and also in regard to the name of the Paphlagonian king, while Plutarch in his *Agesilaus* closely follows Xenophon's account of the campaign of 395, ignoring P altogether, and neither his *Lysander* nor his *Artaxerxes* betray any use of our author.

Such being in brief the evidence concerning the character of P's history, the way is now clear for the discussion of the most interesting problem of all—can he be identified with any of the known historians of the fourth century? For the authorship of so important a historical work the first names that naturally suggest themselves are those of the two famous pupils of Isocrates, Ephorus of Cyme and Theopompus of Chios. The close agreement between P and Diodorus at once suggests an identification with Ephorus, whose history is known to have been used by Diodorus in Book xiv; cf. 98. 2 *Ἀμαθούσιοι δὲ καὶ Σόλιοι*

καὶ Κιτιεῖς ἀντέχοντες τῷ πολέμῳ with Ephorus Fr. 134 Ἀμαθούσιοι δὲ καὶ Σόλιοι καὶ Ὠτιεῖς ἀντέχοντες ἔτι τῷ πολέμῳ. Moreover, Hieronymus, one of Conon's lieutenants, who is stated by Harpocration to have been mentioned in Books xviii and xix of Ephorus (cf. Diod. xiv. 81. 4), occurs in xi. 10, and the spelling Ἀκραίφνιον instead of Ἀκραίφιον in xii. 20 is in accordance with Ephorus' use (Fr. 67) of the adjectives Ἀκραίφνιος and Ἀκραιφνιώτης. Neither of these coincidences, however, is really very striking, for any historian of this period who (unlike Xenophon) described the naval war in detail would be bound to mention Hieronymus, and Harpocration expressly says that other (unspecified) historians did so, while the insertion of the *ν* in Ἀκραίφιον and its derivatives occurred in Theopompus also and was probably a common practice outside Boeotia. Some characteristics of P would suit Ephorus very well, e.g. his intimate knowledge of Asia Minor, with which country Ephorus, whose home was at Cyme and who was a good geographer, must have been well acquainted, his proneness to digressions, of which Ephorus was fond (cf. Polyb. xii. 28 δεινότατός ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς παρεκβάσεσι), and his full information concerning Theban affairs, which is thought to have characterized Ephorus also (Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. p. 710). P's divergence from Xenophon and points of agreement with other later writers besides Diodorus, e.g. Pausanias, Justin, and Polyaenus, would be in accordance with the views of modern critics concerning the relation of these authors to Ephorus; cf. e.g. E. Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* s.v. *Ephoros*, pp. 11–2, Melber, *Jahrb. d. Class. Philol.* Supplementbd. xiv. pp. 419 sqq., Busolt, *op. cit.*, iii. pp. 245 sqq., though the explanation of divergences in late writers from Thucydides and Xenophon by reference to Ephorus has in our opinion often been carried too far. For forming an opinion upon Ephorus' style the extant fragments which very rarely quote his actual words afford but slight material; the awkward repetition of the words Δερκυλίδαν ἔπεμψαν after a brief interval (Fr. 130 from Book xviii) recalls P's carelessness in that respect (cf. p. 124), and there is at any rate no marked discrepancy of style between the extant fragments of Ephorus and P. The judgements of ancient critics who regarded Ephorus' style as smooth but tame are by no means inappropriate to P; cf. Cicero *Hortens.* Fr. 12 *quid . . . Ephoro mitius inveniri potest*, *Brut.* 204 *lenissimum Ephori ingenium*; Dion. Chrys. xvii. p. 283 Ἔφορος δὲ πολλὴν μὲν ἱστορίαν παραδίδωσιν τὸ δ' ὕπτιον καὶ ἀνειμένον σοι τῆς ἀπαγγελίας οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον. The contrast between him and Theopompus is frequently drawn, e.g. in the well-known saying of Isocrates that the latter required the bit, the former the spur, and if it were necessary to identify P with one of these two the argument from style would be all in favour of Ephorus. On the other hand some of the characteristics ascribed by ancient critics to Ephorus are not illustrated by P, e.g. his

fondness for moral reflexions (cf. Polyb. *l. c.* ταῖς ἀφ' αὑτοῦ γνωμολογίαις) and his use of speeches (cf. Plutarch, *Mor.* 803 b, quoted on p. 132); and if modern criticism (cf e. g. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. p. 707) is right in supposing that Ephorus was a pronounced partisan of Athens and opponent of Sparta, and that he abandoned altogether the annalistic arrangement adopted by Thucydides, grouping events together according to subject without sharp chronological distinctions, in both these features he differed from P, whose work moreover attains a higher degree of historical value than critics have generally been disposed to allow to Ephorus. It is difficult for instance to believe that P could have written anything so unreasonable as Ephorus' account of the causes of the Peloponnesian war. But the really fatal objection to the identification of P with Ephorus, and one which caused Blass, who was at first disposed to favour that view, to reject it decisively, is that Ephorus wrote a universal history, which, although it became more detailed as he approached his own times, can hardly have described with very great minuteness the period covered by P, whereas not only is P's narrative extremely elaborate (compared with the parallel portions of Xenophon P is much longer), but there are distinct indications in the work itself that it began at the point where Thucydides broke off and not earlier (cf. p. 116). Hence in spite of the remarkable agreement between P and Diodorus, we have no hesitation in rejecting the view that Ephorus is the author of the papyrus, and the same objection to the identification of P with Ephorus is equally fatal to his identification with Anaximenes or any other fourth-century writer of a universal history. The primary condition which must be satisfied with regard to the authorship of P's work is that the historian whose claims are put forward wrote a continuation of Thucydides on a very elaborate scale.

That condition is fulfilled by Theopompus, whose *Hellenica* in twelve books began where Thucydides left off, and ended with the battle of Cnidus in 394, as is known from Diod. xiii. 42, xiv. 84, and Theopompus is in fact regarded by both E. Meyer and Wilamowitz-Möllendorff as the author of the papyrus, though that hypothesis was unhesitatingly rejected by Blass. Of Theopompus' *Hellenica*, which was certainly written before the same historian's more famous and longer work, the *Philippica*, only about twenty fragments survive, of which only four (nos. 7, 15, 15 *a*, and 23) consist of more than a few words. The events from 411 up to the close of the war seem to have been related comparatively briefly, for already in Book ii there occurs a reference to a Lacedaemonian harmost who has generally been thought to have been appointed by Lysander, though that inference is not certain. After this, however, the history became much more detailed: Book viii, from which the names of certain places in Bithynia are quoted by Stephanus Byz., no doubt contained the accounts of the campaign of

Dercylidas in 398–7. The solitary extant quotation from Book ix cannot be dated precisely, but Book x included a character-sketch of Lysander emphasizing his moderation (Athen. xii. p. 543), a passage which is also referred to by Plutarch (*Lysand.* 30), who introduces it in connexion with Lysander's death. Hence it is probable, as Meyer remarks, that in Theopompus also the sketch occurred at the point where he described Lysander's death at the battle of Haliartus. Since this event took place in the autumn of 395 and the concluding chapters of P narrate Agesilaus' campaign in the same autumn, while the battle of Haliartus has yet to be related, it is clear that Cols. xi–xxi, assuming that Athenaeus has quoted the number of the book correctly, cannot come from a later book than x. That they would, if Theopompus were the author, belong to Book x not to Book ix is made probable by the statement of Porphyry (*ap.* Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* p. 465) that Theopompus' account of the negotiations between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus corresponding to Xen. *Hell.* iv. i. 29–40 (cf. p. 120) occurred in Book xi; for these negotiations took place in the winter of 395–4 soon after the events recorded in Col. xxi, and it is unlikely that the narrative of events in Greece in the autumn of 395 occupied a whole book. Cols. i–x might still come from Book ix, but since there is some reason to believe that Col. i commences a new book (cf. p. 115), it is more satisfactory to refer Cols. xi–xxi to the same book. In that case Book x of Theopompus' *Hellenica* would comprise an account of events from the expedition of Demaenetus in the first half of 396 (cf. p. 115) down to the end of the year 395, the battle of Haliartus falling near the conclusion of this book, and the negotiations of Agesilaus with Pharnabazus near the beginning of the next. This would lead to the difficulty that Books xi and xii together would cover only the period from about January 394 to August (the approximate date of the battle of Cnidus is fixed by an eclipse), and even allowing for considerable digressions and the possible recital of events in other parts of the world such an arrangement seems disproportionate. The difficulty could be avoided by assigning Cols. xi–xxi to Book xi and assuming either that the sketch of Lysander referred to by Athenaeus occurred in Book x not in connexion with the battle of Haliartus or else that Athenaeus has erred in referring the passage in question to Book x instead of to Book xi. But Fr. 23 of Theopompus from Book xi seems to relate to the homeward march of Agesilaus from the Hellespont, which is likely to have been narrated in the book following that to which Cols. xi–xxi would belong, so that it is preferable to suppose that these columns would be part of Book x. Book xii is in any case something of a mystery. No quotations from it are extant, and possibly Suidas was right in stating that the *Hellenica* contained only eleven books.

The hypothesis that P's important work, which continued Thucydides'

history and has clearly had a large influence upon later historians, is to be identified with a known continuation of Thucydides written by a historian of the first rank, who was undoubtedly much used by his successors in the same field, possesses obvious advantages and, especially when it comes to be advocated by Meyer in his own words, is sure to find wide acceptance. The positive arguments by which he in agreement with Wilamowitz-Möllendorff supports it against the rival theory of Blass, to be discussed later, are in the main as follows. Firstly, Theopompus, who as a child was exiled with his father from Chios on account of the latter's philo-Laconian views, is known to have been an aristocrat and on the whole in favour of Sparta as against Athens (cf. e.g. Fr. 17), though as would be expected from so great a historian, his personal feelings did not lead him into violent partisanship—witness his censure of the Spartans in the abstract of *Philippica* xii preserved by Photius *ὡς Ἀθηναίων ἡ πόλις ταῖς πρὸς βασιλέα συνθήκαις ἐπειρᾶτο ἐμμένειν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑπέρογκα φρονοῦντες παρέβαινον τὰς συνθήκας* (cf. Blass' defence of Theopompus from the charge of extreme partiality in *Att. Bereds.* ii. pp. 415 sqq., and for a much less favourable view of Theopompus E. Schwartz, *Hermes* xxxv. pp. 109–10). This combination of aristocratic leanings with a sincere desire for truth corresponds, as Meyer thinks, to the attitude adopted by P, especially in his account of parties at Athens. Secondly, there is no reason to suppose that the characteristic vigour and eloquence of Theopompus were displayed in ordinary narrative such as that which occupies so large a part of the papyrus, and in fact the extant fragments of the *Hellenica* are not dissimilar in style from P. Of these the four largest are: (1) Fr. 7 *ἀνήχθησαν εἰς Χαλκηδόνα καὶ Βυζάντιον μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατεύματος βουλόμενοι Χρυσόπολιν κατασχεῖν* (for *ἀνάγεσθαι* cf. i. 7; *στράτευμα* occurs frequently in P); (2) Fr. 15 a *ἀνακοινοῦνται τῶν Ὡρωπίων Τηλέφῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνου βουλομένοις καὶ τὸν Ὡρωπὸν ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς* (for *μετά* in preference to *σύν* cf. vi. 17, &c., and for the historic present xvi. 20, xvii. 17, &c.); (3) Fr. 15 *τὸ δὲ τῶν εἱλώτων ἔθνος παντάπασιν ὠμῶς διάκειται καὶ πικρῶς. εἰσὶ γὰρ οὗτοι κατεδεδουλωμένοι πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ὑπὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκ Μεσσήνης ὄντες οἱ δ' ἐλεάται κατοικοῦντες πρότερον τὸ καλούμενον Ἕλος τῆς Λακωνικῆς* (cf. e.g. xiv. 25 sqq.; *ἔθνος*, *διακεῖσθαι*, and *τὸ καλούμενον* are words of frequent occurrence in P; with the inversion *ὠμῶς διάκειται καὶ πικρῶς* to avoid hiatus with the following *εἰσί* cf. ii. 34 and xi. 22); (4) Fr. 23 (from *Hell.* xi and *Philip.* xiii according to Athen. xiv. p. 657) *καὶ οἱ Θάσιοι ἔπεμψαν Ἀγησιλάῳ προσιόντι πρόβατα καὶ βοῦς εὖ τεθραμμένους πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ πέμματα καὶ τραγημάτων εἶδος παντοδαπόν. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος τὰ μὲν πρόβατα καὶ τὰς βοῦς ἔλαβεν, τὰ δὲ πέμματα καὶ τὰ τραγήματα πρῶτον μὲν οὐδ' ἔγνω, κατεκεκάλυπτο γάρ· ὡς δὲ κατεῖδεν ἀποφέρειν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν, εἰπὼν οὐ νόμιμον εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις*

χρῆσθαι τοιούτοις τοῖς ἐδέσμασι. λιπαρούντων δὲ τῶν Θασίων, δότε, φησί, φέροντες ἐκείνοις, δείξας αὐτοῖς τοὺς εἵλωτας, εἰπὼν ὅτι τούτους δέοι διαφθείρεσθαι τρώγοντας αὐτὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας Λακεδαιμονίων (the structure of the sentence ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος κ.τ.λ. is particularly like the style of P). This argument for the general similarity of the style of the *Hellenica* with that of P can, we may remark, be supplemented by the occurrence of certain linguistic agreements between P and Theopompus, including two possible references to extant portions of P in quotations from Theopompus (p. 131). Thirdly, enough is known about the contents of the *Philippica*, particularly from the abstract of Book xii preserved by Photius, to show that Theopompus was extremely prone to digressions on all kinds of subjects, many of them very remotely connected with his main narrative, a feature which is notably prominent in P also (cf. p. 121). Fourthly, several points in the probably just criticism of Theopompus as a historian by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.* pp. 782–7) apply very well to P. Thus Dionysius speaks of both *Hellenica* and *Philippica* as being εὐπαρακολούθητοι καὶ σαφεῖς, and praises the careful and diligent preparations which Theopompus had made in collecting materials and obtaining information, and the wide range of subjects treated (τὸ πολύμορφον τῆς γραφῆς), which included descriptions of states, laws, constitutions (πολιτειῶν σχήματα; cf. P's excursus on the constitution of Boeotia), important individuals, &c. Dionysius specially singles out as Theopompus' most remarkable characteristic, which distinguished him from both older and younger historians, his deep insight into causes and power of psychological analysis, τὸ καθ' ἑκάστην πρᾶξιν μὴ μόνον τὰ φανερὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁρᾶν καὶ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ ἐξετάζειν καὶ τὰς ἀφανεῖς αἰτίας τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν πραξάντων αὐτὰς καὶ τὰ πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς ἃ μὴ ῥᾴδια τοῖς πολλοῖς εἰδέναι, καὶ πάντα ἐκκαλύπτειν τὰ μυστήρια τῆς τε δοκούσης ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς ἀγνοουμένης κακίας . . . διὸ καὶ βάσκανος ἔδοξεν εἶναι, with which description may be compared the penetrating analysis of the motives of the various anti-Spartan parties in i. 33 sqq. and of the policy of Ismenias' party at Thebes in xii. 37–xiv. 21. Fifthly, that Theopompus' works were serious histories like that of P, and very far from being over-rhetorical, is shown by the unfavourable verdict passed upon him by one of his successors, Duris of Samos, a writer who sacrificed historical accuracy to mere effect, Ἔφορος δὲ καὶ Θεόπομπος τῶν γενομένων πλεῖστον ἀπελείφθησαν, οὔτε γὰρ μιμήσεως μετέλαβον οὐδεμιᾶς οὔτε ἡδονῆς ἐν τῷ φράσαι, αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ γράφειν μόνον ἐπεμελήθησαν. Sixthly, the blame passed on Theopompus in common with Ephorus and Timaeus by Polybius (xii. 25 *f.* 6) for his want of knowledge in describing battles would accord with the suspiciously conventional character of the account of the two ambuscades in v. 59 sqq. and xix. 22 sqq.

The combined weight of Meyer's arguments, of which the first three seem

to us the strongest, is undoubtedly considerable, and we can reinforce them by several linguistic coincidences of which the last two are particularly striking, and perhaps provide direct evidence of P's identity with Theopompus. Of P's favourite expressions (cf. p. 124) τυγχάνειν with a participle in place of the simple verb occurs in Theop. Fr. 149, παροξύνειν in Fr. 100, while χωρίον . . . κατεσκευασμένον καλῶς is found both in xx. 30 (κακως Pap. by an error) and Theop. Fr. 33. The agreement of P with Theopompus as to the insertion of ν in the name Ἀκραίφιον (cf. Ἀκραιφνίου xii. 20, note) proves little, for Ephorus used the forms Ἀκραίφνιος and Ἀκραιφνιώτης (cf. p. 126) and the insertion of ν was probably common; moreover, Stephanus Byz. ascribes the form Ἀκραίφνιον to Pausanias, and (τὰ) Ἀκραίφνια to Theopompus. Similarly the circumstance that Theopompus' description of Mesogis and Celaenae (Fr. 290) is in accordance with vi. 45–vii. 2 (cf. note *ad loc.*), that of Parapotamii (Fr. 264) with xv. 17–8, is of slight account. But the occurrence in xviii. 39 (cf. viii. 22) of the verb κατᾶραι in the rather rare sense of ἐλθεῖν, a use which is attributed to Theopompus (Fr. 327) by a grammarian in Bekk. *Anecd.* p. 104. 15, is significant in any case, and it is possible that this passage in P was the grammarian's authority, while a still more noteworthy coincidence between P and Theopompus is found in connexion with the form Καρπασεύς (xvi. 37, xvii. 16), meaning a man of Carpasus (in Cyprus). Steph. Byz. s. v. Καρπασία remarks ὁ πολίτης Καρπασεώτης . . . καὶ τὸ κτητικὸν Καρπασεωτικὸς καὶ Καρπασεωτικὴ ἄκρα. Θεόπομπος ἐν δεκάτῳ Καρπασεῖς αὐτούς φησιν. ἴσως ἀπὸ τοῦ Κάρπασος ὡς Ἀντίοχος Ἀντιοχεύς, ἀφ' οὗ Καρπασεύς. It has been generally assumed that the 10th Book in question belonged to the more commonly quoted *Philippica* rather than to the *Hellenica*, and C. Müller explains it (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* Theop. Fr. 93) by the supposition that the Carpasians were mentioned in connexion with Cimon's expedition to Sicily, Cimon being mentioned in another fragment (94) of *Phil.* Book x. But both the assumption and the suggested explanation are mere guesses, and if the 10th Book belongs to the *Hellenica* the agreement with P is very remarkable, for, as we have shown (p. 128), Cols. xi–xxi, if not the whole of the papyrus, would belong to that Book. This coincidence may indeed seem to clinch the argument for the identification of P with Theopompus, but before deciding in favour of that view it is necessary to examine the objections to it.

In the first place P and Theopompus seem to disagree as to the name of the Paphlagonian king, who is called Γύης in xxi. 11 but Θύς by Theopompus according to Athenaeus, while Nepos, who is no doubt following Theopompus, calls him *Thuys* (xx. 37, note). Meyer evades the difficulty by supposing a corruption in the papyrus, which is admittedly not very trustworthy, especially as to proper names. But Γύης is not in itself an unlikely form for an Asiatic name which, as

the variations of it in Xenophon (Κότυς and Ὅτυς) show, could not be represented satisfactorily in Greek, and the apparent disagreement between P and Theopompus is prima facie evidence against the identity of the two. Secondly, according to Porphyry *ap.* Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* p. 465 b-c Theopompus in his *Hellenica* plagiarized from Xenophon (πολλὰ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος αὐτὸν μετατιθέντα κατείληφα) and in the 11th Book μεταθεὶς ἀργά τε καὶ ἀκίνητα πεποίηκε καὶ ἄπρακτα the account of the negotiations between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus which Xenophon (*Hell.* iv. 1. 29-40) had described πάνυ χαριέντως καὶ πρεπόντως ἀμφοῖν. It is very unfortunate that the papyrus breaks off shortly before that episode was reached, but the total disregard of Xenophon exhibited in the extant portions of P renders it improbable that he borrowed from that author, and though, as Meyer remarks, Xenophon is likely to have been the only historian who could describe those negotiations from first-hand knowledge, the divergence between P and Xenophon in regard to the treatment of the earlier negotiations between Agesilaus and the king of Paphlagonia (xx. 37, note), for the details of which Xenophon was equally in all probability the sole first-hand authority, renders it in our opinion very difficult to believe that P used Xenophon's account when describing the negotiations with Pharnabazus. Hence if P is Theopompus, the general charge of plagiarism from Xenophon brought against him by Porphyry must certainly be dismissed, and it would, we think, be preferable to explain the specific instance alleged as also due to a misunderstanding. Whether Porphyry carries very much weight on a question of literary criticism may be doubted, but his evidence, so far as it goes, distinctly tells against the identification of P with Theopompus. Thirdly, the absence of speeches in P offers a point of contrast with Theopompus, who certainly employed them, as is shown not only by the censure passed upon him in common with Ephorus and Anaximenes by Plutarch *Mor.* 803 b ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Ἐφ. καὶ Θεοπ. καὶ Ἀναξ. ῥητορειῶν καὶ περιόδων ἃς περαίνουσιν ἐξοπλίσαντες τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ παρατάξαντες ἔστιν εἰπεῖν· οὐδεὶς σιδήρου ταῦτα μωραίνει πέλας, but by two recently discovered fragments of the Φιλιππικά (Didymus, *De Demosth. Comm.*, ed. Diels and Schubart, pp. 19 and 35). It is possible however that the absence of speeches in P is due to accident; cf. p. 123. Fourthly, P's account of Agesilaus does not accord at all well with what is known of the treatment of him in Theopompus. That the latter had a very high admiration for Agesilaus is clear from the fact that Plutarch quotes his praise (καὶ μέγιστος μὲν ἦν ὁμολογουμένως καὶ τῶν τότε ζώντων ἐπιφανέστατος, ὡς εἴρηκέ που καὶ Θεόπομπος), and the rather trivial anecdote preserved in Fr. 23 from *Hell.* xi, and probably in a slightly different form in *Phil.* xiii (cf. p. 129) recalls the stories about Agesilaus which Xenophon tells of his hero. P on the other hand shows no tendency to illustrate the personal character

of Agesilaus nor any enthusiasm over his achievements (though cf. v. 17–9, note). It is moreover very noticeable that Plutarch, who is generally considered to have derived much information from Theopompus (cf. e. g. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. pp. 727 sqq.), and who in his *Ages.* mentions him four times, besides clearly referring in ch. 36 to the version in Theopompus' *Philippica* of the story about the gifts offered to the king, nevertheless ignores the divergences between P and Xenophon with regard to Agesilaus' campaigns in 395 and shows practically no trace of connexion with P anywhere. That P's account of the war in 395, which has influenced Diodorus and other writers of the Roman period and must have been still extant in Plutarch's time, was so completely neglected by him is somewhat remarkable in any case; but the identification of P with Theopompus makes this neglect much more difficult of explanation, and the view, which has been widely held, that Plutarch had first-hand knowledge of Theopompus, becomes almost untenable, with regard to the *Hellenica* at any rate, if P was the author of that work. Fifthly, while the agreements between P and Pausanias, Justin, and Polyaenus present no obstacles to Meyer's view, the acceptance of it leads to considerable complications when we try to account for the agreement between P and Diodorus, and to reconcile the dates at which P's work and Theopompus' *Hellenica* were probably composed. Meyer, from the standpoint of most modern criticism of Diodorus, which believes that 'die starke Abhängigkeit Diodors von Ephoros von dem neunten Buche der Bibliothek ab (i. e. to Book xv) eines der sichersten Ergebnisse der Quellenforschung ist' (Bauer, *Die Forschungen zur Gr. Gesch. 1888–98*, p. 265), explains the clear dependence of Diodorus upon P by the hypothesis that Diodorus' source, Ephorus, was using Theopompus. This leads, however, to a chronological difficulty. Theopompus was probably born about 376, since according to Photius he was 45 years of age, when through Alexander's intervention he returned to Chios from exile apparently in 332 (cf. Blass, *op. cit.* p. 400; Rohde, *Rhein. Mus.* xlix. p. 623). The statement of Suidas that Theopompus, like Ephorus, was γεγονὼς . . . in the 93rd Olympiad (B.C. 408) is now universally regarded as containing an error in the figures, γεγονώς meaning not 'born' but 'lived' (cf. Blass, *l. c.*). He survived the death of Alexander, for Photius relates that he took refuge in Egypt with Ptolemy, but when and where he died is uncertain. Concerning Ephorus' life even less is known. Probably he was born about the same time as Theopompus and died some time before him, for the latest event recorded about him is his refusal to accept an invitation to Alexander's court (Plut. *De stoic. repugn.* c. 20), and whereas part of Theopompus' *Philippica* must have been written after the death of Philip in 336, the 29th Book of Ephorus' history only reached 356, the 30th Book which reaches 340 being edited after the

historian's death by his son (Diod. xvi. 14). Meyer thinks that Theopompus wrote the *Hellenica* not much later than 350, and that the 18th and 19th Books of Ephorus, which covered the same ground, were not composed until after 330, for it is of course very difficult to reconcile the supposed dependence of Ephorus upon Theopompus without assuming an interval of some 15 or 20 years between the composition of the *Hellenica* and the parallel portions of Ephorus' history. But to this view there are two serious objections. That P wrote his history not much, if at all, later than 350 is probable enough; for, as Mr. E. M. Walker was the first to point out and as Meyer now admits, the account of the border dispute between Phocis and Locris in xiv. 25 sqq., where P speaks of the ἀμφισβητήσιμος χώρα as still existing (ἔστι, in l. 25; cf. ἐπινέμουσι and διαρπάζουσι in ll. 27 and 29) and contrasts in ll. 30–37 the former peaceful methods of settling the quarrel with the war which was kindled on that occasion, cannot have been written after the end of the Sacred War, which began in 356 with a struggle between the Phocians and the very same Locrians, and ended in 346 with the complete ruin of Phocis, whose place on the Amphictyonic Council was transferred to Macedonia. Hence 346 may be regarded as the *terminus ad quem* for the date at which P composed his history. Mr. Walker is even prepared to place it before 356, on the ground that a reference to the Sacred War would be expected in xiv. 25 sqq. if it had actually begun; but we do not wish to press this point, for the use of the present tense is quite compatible with the war being already in progress. If P wrote before 356, it is of course impossible to identify him with Theopompus without abandoning the current view concerning the date of Theopompus' birth, and even if he was writing between 350 and 346, which we regard as on the whole the most likely date for the composition of P's work, it is not at all easy to reconcile this with the evidence that Theopompus was born in about 376. A work so detailed and elaborate as that of P implies a large amount of research on the part of its author, especially since he disregarded Xenophon. Theopompus may have begun writing his *Hellenica* at the age of 23 or 24, but that he composed the 10th Book before the age of 30 seems to us distinctly improbable, so that taking 376 as the correct date of Theopompus' birth, the *terminus a quo* for the date of the composition of Book x is 347–6. Since the *terminus ad quem* for P's work is, as we have said, 346, the margin of time available for the supposed composition of it by Theopompus is reduced to the narrowest possible limits, if it does not disappear altogether. The margin may be extended for a year or two by supposing that when Photius gave Theopompus' age at his return from exile as 45 years, that figure was approximate, and he should have strictly said 46 or 47. But if the date of Theopompus' birth is pushed back before about 378 it becomes

necessary to alter the number of the year in Photius' account, and to this there are two objections: firstly, that Photius seems to be drawing his details concerning Theopompus' life from a trustworthy source, and that the mistake, if there be one, must be attributed not to him but to his copyists; secondly, that, in view of the fact that Theopompus was living in Egypt under Ptolemy Soter and may even have survived the year 300, 376 is a sufficiently early date for his birth, and a date before 380 is not at all probable.

The theory of the identity of P with Theopompus thus leads to a grave chronological difficulty with regard to the date of the 10th Book of the *Hellenica*, the composition of which would on general grounds of probability be assigned to a year later than 346, whereas in order to satisfy the exigencies of the theory the date has to be prior to 346, and it is open to the further objection that P's most prominent features as a historian (cf. pp. 122–3) do not in the least suggest the work of a very young man, but on the contrary are rather characteristic of maturity or even old age; cf. also p. 139. With regard to Ephorus on the other hand, Meyer's supposition that he wrote the last twelve out of 29 Books of his history after 330 seems rather hazardous in view of the fact that he is not known to have outlived that year. The interval, therefore, between the publication of the *Hellenica* and the composition of Books xviii and xix of Ephorus is likely to have been rather brief, and then the question arises whether it is probable that Ephorus would have neglected Xenophon and been content to reproduce in a shortened form the recently published work of his contemporary Theopompus as (granting that Diodorus in Book xiv is closely following Ephorus) he would seem to have done for the events of 396–5. Ephorus may have been a writer without much originality (cf. Wilamowitz, *Arist. u. Athen* ii. p. 16), but that he should have selected Theopompus as his principal or sole authority for the period covered by the *Hellenica* is strange. If P is identified with Theopompus, can the difficulty of admitting that Theopompus was Ephorus' source in Books xviii and xix be evaded by supposing a direct use of Theopompus by Diodorus for the period from 411–394?

The question whether Diodorus borrowed from Theopompus has long been disputed, but since Volquardsen in 1869 propounded the view that Books xi–xv of Diodorus were mainly derived from Ephorus and Theopompus was not used, nearly all modern critics have ranged themselves on his side. Neither the scepticism of Holm (*Gr. Gesch.* iii. p. 19) nor the attempt of W. Stern (*Commentationes in hon. G. Studemund*, 1889, pp. 245 sqq.) to prove on stylistic grounds that Diodorus had extensively used Theopompus in Books i–xx have won support, and the only concession sometimes made to the advocates of a use of Theopompus by Diodorus is in connexion with Book xvi, which deals with the period from

360–336, and of which Volquardsen left the source in doubt. Here F. Reuss' conclusion (*Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* cliii. pp. 317 sqq.) that parts of this Book are based on Theopompus is accepted by Bauer (*op. cit.* p. 266), but not by E. Schwartz (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* v. p. 682), though cf. Reuss, *Bursians Jahresber.* cxxvii. p. 37, where he suggests that Diod. xvi. 34. 5 is derived from Theopompus on the evidence of the new fragment in Diels-Schubart, Didymus *Comm. de Demosth.* xii. 43–9. The conditions of the problem are now entirely altered by the discovery of our papyrus. Volquardsen (*Unters. über die Quellen Diod.* pp. 67 sqq.) found five arguments against the use of Theopompus by Diodorus: (1) Theopompus is never cited by Diodorus; the mentions of his history in xiii. 42 and xiv. 84 do not count, because they belong to the extracts from a chronological epitome incorporated in Diodorus' history. (2) There is no correspondence between the fragments of Theopompus and Diodorus. (3) There is no trace in Diodorus of Theopompus' aristocratic bias. (4) The style of Diodorus does not resemble that of Theopompus. (5) For the period from 394–360 Diodorus could only have utilized Theopompus if he had searched up and down through the *Philippica*, and it is unlikely that he would have used a work arranged on so unsystematic a plan. If, however, P is Theopompus, these arguments break down completely, with regard to the *Hellenica* at any rate. As for (2), there would be a close agreement between Diodorus xiv and Theopompus; as for (3), since Theopompus' aristocratic bias would be very slight, and on the whole he would have to be regarded as a decidedly impartial historian, there would be no reason to expect an aristocratic bias to be traceable in Diodorus. With regard to (4) the identification of P with Theopompus necessitates a radical alteration in the ordinary conception of Theopompus' style (cf. pp. 137–9), and so far from the style of Diodorus being different from that of Theopompus' *Hellenica*, it would present considerable resemblance to it. Volquardsen's fifth reason does not apply to the period covered by the *Hellenica*, which moreover, being arranged on a chronological system, would be more convenient as a basis for a history arranged on Diodorus' plan than a less strictly chronological work, such as Ephorus is supposed to have written. There remains, therefore, only the first argument, which, seeing that Diodorus is not in the habit of quoting his sources (e.g. Hieronymus of Cardia is generally thought to have been largely used in Books xviii–xx), is hardly serious, and it is clear that if P is Theopompus the whole question of the relation of Diodorus to Theopompus will have to be reconsidered. Into that problem we do not propose to enter in detail; what we wish chiefly to insist upon is that the identification of P with Theopompus tends to disturb the prevailing view of the relation of Ephorus to Diodorus more seriously than an identification

with e.g. Cratippus, who may well have been used by Ephorus (cf. p. 141), and, secondly, the hypothesis which Meyer adopts so readily that Ephorus used Theopompus' *Hellenica*, is based not only on a somewhat hazardous assumption concerning the dates at which these historians wrote, but on conclusions concerning the relation of Diodorus to Ephorus and Theopompus which the identification of P with Theopompus goes some way to undermine. That Diodorus used P directly does not seem to us probable: for though the general agreement between them is very close, the verbal coincidences are not on the whole very striking (cf. p. 216); and, as Mr. Walker remarks, the fact that Diodorus, though adopting an annalistic arrangement like that of P, nevertheless commits the egregious blunder of first omitting the events of Greek history altogether during the two years preceding that in which he places the dispatch of Agesilaus, and then combining into one year his account of the two campaigns of Agesilaus which really belong to different years, is almost incredible if he was excerpting an author whose chronology was as clear as that of P. Such an error, however, is readily explicable on the assumption that Diodorus was using an author like Ephorus, who (as is generally supposed) grouped events together without strict regard to chronology. That Diodorus' close connexion with P is due to his use of Ephorus who was based on P is much the most satisfactory hypothesis, but the acceptance of it, so far from providing an argument for the identification of P with Theopompus, creates somewhat formidable difficulties. It is not Diodorus but Plutarch who, if P is Theopompus, ought to exhibit traces of his influence; but these, as we have said (p. 133), are not forthcoming.

To these objections which we have brought against the identification of P with Theopompus may be added the great obstacle, which from the outset led Blass (and Dittenberger also) to reject that view, namely the absence in P of several of Theopompus' most prominent characteristics, especially in regard to style. Thus Theopompus was noted for his comments either of praise or blame (principally the latter), a feature which is abundantly illustrated by the extant fragments of the *Philippica*, whereas P, except apparently in the fragmentary Col. x, shows no disposition to moralize upon his characters, preferring to let their actions speak for themselves. Even so important a personage as Ismenias is introduced (xii. 34) without remark, and Agesilaus' relations to Megabates are stated, but neither excused nor censured. We hear, indeed, of Conon's προθυμία, an expression which is also used of Cyrus (xvi. 9) and an obscure Persian general (xx. 35), but for Agesilaus the extant portions of P have, except perhaps in v. 17–9 (cf. note *ad loc.*), no word of praise. The notorious bitterness of Theopompus, which Cicero singles out when summing him up in a single epithet (*Hortens.*

Fr. 12 *quid . . . Theopompo acrius*), and which is exemplified in his diatribes against Athens (Frs. 117, 238, and 297), however well deserved these may be, goes far beyond the censure implied rather than openly expressed, upon the extreme democrats in ii. 10–14; and in the plain unrhetorical composition of P we look in vain for any traces of the fire and passion which Theopompus put into his vivid and powerful description of the friends of Philip (Fr. 249), or Fr. 125 beginning *ποία γὰρ πόλις ἢ ποῖον ἔθνος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν οὐκ ἐπρεσβεύετο πρὸς βασιλέα; τί δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς γεννωμένων ἢ τῶν κατὰ τέχνην ἐπιτελουμένων καλῶν ἢ τιμίων οὐκ ἐκομίσθη δῶρον ὡς αὐτόν; οὐ πολλαὶ μὲν καὶ πολυτελεῖς στρωμναὶ καὶ χλανίδες, τὰ μὲν ἀλουργῆ τὰ δὲ ποικιλτὰ τὰ δὲ λευκά, πολλαὶ δὲ σκηναὶ χρυσαῖ κατεσκευασμένοι πᾶσι τοῖς χρησίμοις, πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ξυστίδες καὶ κλῖναι πολυτελεῖς;* κ.τ.λ., or Fr. 135 *Νικόστρατον δὲ τὸν Ἀργεῖον πῶς οὐ χρὴ φαῦλον νομίζειν; ὃς προστάτης γενόμενος τῆς Ἀργείων πόλεως καὶ παραλαβὼν καὶ γένος καὶ χρήματα καὶ πολλὴν οὐσίαν παρὰ τῶν προγόνων ἅπαντας ὑπερεβάλετο τῇ κολακείᾳ καὶ ταῖς θεραπείαις οὐ μόνον τοὺς τότε στρατείας μετασχόντας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν γενομένους. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἠγάπησε τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου τιμὴν ὥστε βουλόμενος ἀρέσκειν καὶ πιστεύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἀνεκόμισε πρὸς βασιλέα τὸν υἱόν· ὃ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς πώποτε φανήσεται ποιήσας· ἔπειτα καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ὁπότε μέλλοι δειπνεῖν τράπεζαν παρετίθει χωρὶς ὀνομάζων τῷ δαίμονι τῷ βασιλέως, ἐμπλήσας σίτου καὶ ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων, ἀκούων μὲν τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς περὶ τὰς θύρας διατρίβοντας, οἰόμενος δὲ διὰ τῆς θεραπείας ταύτης χρηματιεῖσθαι μᾶλλον παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. ἦν γὰρ αἰσχροκερδὴς καὶ χρημάτων ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ἕτερος ἥττων.* That the historian whose superiority to Thucydides and Philistus on account of the *elatio atque altitudo orationis suae* was compared by Cicero (*Brut.* 66) to the superiority of Demosthenes to Lysias, and whose *λέξις* Dionysius (*Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.* p. 786) compares to that of Isocrates, *καθαρὰ γὰρ . . . καὶ κοινὴ καὶ σαφής, ὑψηλή τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς καὶ τὸ πομπικὸν ἔχουσα πολύ, συγκειμένη κατὰ τὴν μέσην ἁρμονίαν, ἡδέως καὶ μαλακῶς ῥεοῦσα*, could have attained so high a reputation as a stylist is incredible, if his other work resembled these fragments. It is also noticeable that out of three points which are censured by Dionysius (p. 787) in Theopompus, his over-anxiety to avoid hiatus, his continual rhythmical periods, and his wearisome epideictic figures (*τῆς τε συμπλοκῆς τῶν φωνηέντων γραμμάτων καὶ τῆς κυκλικῆς εὐρυθμίας τῶν περιόδων καὶ τῆς ὁμοειδείας τῶν σχηματισμῶν*), P exhibits only avoidance of hiatus (a rule which is subject to exceptions both in P and the extant fragments of Theopompus). Elaborate rhythmical periods and rhetorical antitheses, parisa, and paromoia (e.g. *τί γὰρ τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἢ δεινῶν αὐτοῖς οὐ προσῆν ἢ τί τῶν καλῶν καὶ σπουδαίων οὐκ ἀπῆν;* in Theop. Fr. 249) are foreign to P's sober, unadorned style. In order to identify P with Theopompus it is practically necessary, as Meyer and Wilamowitz admit, to suppose that the *Hellenica* was written in a manner much

less ornate than that of the *Philippica*. In support of such a view of the development of Theopompus' style can be cited the difference in Xenophon's treatment of the period before and after the end of the Peloponnesian war, and the circumstance that Theopompus seems to have begun his historical researches tamely enough by writing an epitome of Herodotus, and when composing the *Hellenica* may have been to some extent under the influence of Thucydides. But on the other hand the ancient critics draw no distinction between the characteristics of the *Hell.* and *Phil.*, and in the case of a writer with so vigorous an individuality and such marked features of style as Theopompus it is certainly surprising, even apart from the story about the bit and the spur (cf. p. 126), that he should have been able as a young man (cf. p. 135) to curb his tendency to rhetoric so successfully as he has done, if he be indeed the author of the papyrus. That he was composing ἐπιδεικτικοὶ λόγοι at the same time as the *Hellenica* appears from Fr. 26, which probably is derived from the preface to the *Philippica*, and the conception of history in the Isocratean school was in the words of the master himself (Isocr. iv. 9) *αἱ μὲν γὰρ πράξεις αἱ προγεγενημέναι κοιναὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν κατελείφθησαν, τὸ δ' ἐν καιρῷ ταύταις καταχρήσασθαι καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα περὶ ἑκάστης ἐνθυμηθῆναι καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν εὖ διαθέσθαι τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἴδιόν ἐστιν.*

Our comparison, therefore, of P's work with the *Hellenica* of Theopompus, though it has not presented any single insuperable obstacle to the identification of one with the other, if that hypothesis can be made probable on other grounds, and though even as regards style there are some points of agreement between the two (cf. p. 129), undoubtedly has shown the existence of a number of weighty objections to the identification of P with Theopompus. Can these be avoided by identifying P with another historian? To reject Theopompus and take refuge in complete agnosticism is most unsatisfactory, for admittedly P was a historian of much importance who has largely influenced later tradition, and since his work survived far into the second century his name at any rate must be known.

This being granted, there is besides Theopompus only one known historian, Cratippus, who seems to fulfil the primary condition required for identification with P, that he should have written a continuation of Thucydides, and it is Cratippus whom Blass wished to regard as the author of the papyrus. Concerning this writer our information is scanty, and his date has been much disputed. Dionysius Halic. (*De Thucyd.* 16) says ἔοικεν (sc. Thucydides) *ἀτελῆ τὴν ἱστορίαν καταλιπεῖν ὡς καὶ Κράτιππος ὁ συνακμάσας αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ παραλειφθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συναγαγὼν γέγραφεν· οὐ μόνον ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτὰς* (sc. Thucydides' speeches) *ἐμποδὼν γεγενῆσθαι λέγων ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὀχληρὰς εἶναι. τοῦτό γέ τοι συνέντα αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς τελευταίοις τῆς ἱστορίας φησὶ μηδεμίαν τάξαι ῥητορείαν πολλῶν μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν*

γενομένων πολλῶν δ' ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὅσα διὰ λόγων καὶ δημηγοριῶν ἐπράχθη (perhaps a quotation from Cratippus' *προοίμιον*). From this it is clear that Dionysius regarded Cratippus as a contemporary of Thucydides, and that Cratippus strongly objected to the speeches. More definite information about the period which his history covered is supplied by Plutarch (*De glor. Ath.* p. 345 C–E ἂν γὰρ ἀνέλῃς τοὺς πράττοντας οὐχ ἕξεις τοὺς γράφοντας. ἄνελε τὴν Περικλέους πολιτείαν καὶ τὰ ναύμαχα πρὸς Ῥίῳ Φορμίωνος τρόπαια . . . καὶ Θουκυδίδης σοι διαγέγραπται. ἄνελε τὰ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον Ἀλκιβιάδου νεανιεύματα καὶ τὰ πρὸς Λέσβον Θρασύλλου καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ Θηραμένους τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας κατάλυσιν καὶ Θρασύβουλον καὶ Ἀρχῖνον (MSS. Ἄρχιππον) καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἑβδομήκοντα κατὰ τῆς Σπαρτιατῶν ἡγεμονίας ἀνισταμένους καὶ Κόνωνα πάλιν ἐμβιβάζοντα τὰς Ἀθήνας εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ Κράτιππος ἀνῄρηται. This shows that Cratippus' work, like Theopompus' *Hellenica* and probably the history of P, included the period from 411 to the battle of Cnidus in 394. Apparently he went over again part of the ground covered by the last Book of Thucydides, for the expulsion of the oligarchs by Theramenes is narrated in viii. 89 sqq., and Thrasyllus' proceedings at Lesbos are recorded (very briefly) in viii. 100. That Plutarch should have here placed Cratippus on the same level as Thucydides indicates that he must have been a very important historian, and it is remarkable that there are only two other extant references to him: (1) Ps.-Plut. *Vit. Orat.* p. 834, where he is quoted in reference to the Hermocopidae, a subject which he may have treated in connexion with the return of Alcibiades; (2) Marcellinus, *Vit. Thuc.* 33 ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι κάθοδος ἐδόθη τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ὡς καὶ Φιλόχορος λέγει καὶ Δημήτριος ἐν τοῖς Ἄρχουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ Ζώπυρον ληρεῖν νομίζω λέγοντα τοῦτον ἐν Θρᾴκῃ τετελευτηκέναι κἂν ἀληθεύειν νομίζῃ Κράτιππος αὐτόν. τὸ δ' ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Τίμαιον αὐτὸν καὶ ἄλλους λέγειν κεῖσθαι μὴ καὶ σφόδρα καταγέλαστον ᾖ.[1] It appears from this that Cratippus was not older than Zopyrus, and Susemihl, identifying this Zopyrus with the friend of Timon of Phlius (*Gesch. d. Gr. Lit. in d. Alexandrinerzeit*, ii. p. 468), thinks that Cratippus lived in the third or second century B.C. (*op. cit.* i. p. 646). But it is quite uncertain which Zopyrus is meant: he may, for instance, have been the contemporary of Socrates (Herbst, *Philol.* xlix. p. 174). That Cratippus lived even later still has been maintained by Stahl,

[1] ἐγὼ δὲ κ.τ.λ. has hitherto been treated as a remark of Marcellinus, ἐν Θρᾴκῃ (which does not suit the sense) being generally altered to ἐν Ἀττικῇ; but, as Blass suggested, the passage in question is perhaps in iambic trimeters, though his proposal to regard it as a quotation from the *Chronica* of Apollodorus is unhesitatingly rejected by Wilamowitz. The lines can be restored thus:

ἐγὼ δὲ Ζώπυρον
λέγοντα τοῦτον ⟨⏑⏑ –⏑⟩ τετελευτηκέναι (or ἐν Ἀττικῇ τεθνηκέναι)
ληρεῖν νομίζω, κἂν ἀληθεύειν δοκῇ
Κράτιππος αὐτὸν . . .
τὸ δ' ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Τίμαιον αὐτὸν χἀτέρους
κεῖσθαι λέγειν μὴ καὶ σφόδρα καταγέλαστον ᾖ.

who boldy emends *αὐτῷ* (i. e. Thucydides) after *συνακμάσας* in the Dionysius passage into *σοὶ αὐτῷ* (i. e. Q. Aelius Tubero, whom Dionysius was addressing), and would identify Cratippus with the friend of Pompey. This violent emendation of Dionysius has however been universally abandoned, and most recent critics either defend the date assigned to Cratippus by Dionysius or leave the question undecided ; cf. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* iii. p. 276 ; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. pp. 631–2, where the literature of the subject is surveyed.

That Cratippus was an Athenian is a tolerably certain inference from the context of the Plutarch passage, which relates to Athenian historians, and Meyer adduces as an objection to the identification of P with Cratippus the circumstance that the Athenians do not occupy in P the prominent position which they have in Thucydides, and that his sympathies are rather with Sparta. But since Plutarch next after Cratippus proceeds to mention Xenophon, this objection does not carry much weight, for P is certainly not more pro-Spartan than Xenophon, and his just recognition of Conon's merits stands in marked contrast to Xenophon's biased attempt to belittle that commander's achievements.

To sum up the scanty evidence with regard to Cratippus, what is known about the scope of his history and his avoidance of speeches fits in very well with Blass' view concerning the authorship of the papyrus. That he was younger than Thucydides is practically certain in any case, and if *συνακμάσας* in Dionysius be regarded as a loose expression, and the publication of Cratippus', i. e. P's, work be assigned to the period between 375 and 350, it may well have been used by Ephorus, a hypothesis which would account for the agreements between P and Diodorus more easily than the rival view that P is Theopompus; cf. pp. 133–7. The style of P hardly suggests so early a date as 375–350, but since in any case he wrote his history before 346 (cf. p. 134) that difficulty is not very serious, and his independence of Xenophon can be explained by supposing that his work was published before Xenophon's *Hellenica* just as well as by the theory that P intentionally disregarded it. Moreover, the identification of P with Cratippus in preference to Theopompus would provide a possible solution for the mysterious paucity of references to him by name, for if his work was used not only by Ephorus but, as is possible, by Theopompus, it is to some extent intelligible that an author with so colourless a style was soon superseded by those writers and the more elegant Xenophon, although P's great merits as a narrator of facts would still be expected to have rescued him from the almost complete neglect into which Cratippus unquestionably fell.

In the absence of any other historian whose claims to be regarded as the author of the papyrus seem to be worthy of consideration, the choice lies between

Theopompus and Cratippus, and having stated the case for and against both as impartially as we could, we leave the decision to our readers. The positive arguments in favour of identifying P with so shadowy a person as Cratippus are inevitably not very convincing; the strength of his case rests largely on the objections to regarding Theopompus as the author of the papyrus, objections which have led both Prof. Bury and Mr. Walker to endorse the opinion of Blass. For ourselves we should prefer on many grounds to identify P with Theopompus, especially as that view can be supported by some direct evidence—the coincidences with regard to Καρπασεύς and κατᾶραι; cf. p. 131. The first of these can of course be reconciled with the identification of P with Cratippus by the supposition that Theopompus in the 10th Book of the *Hellenica* also mentioned the Carpasian leader of the mutiny or that the quotation comes after all from the 10th Book of the *Philippica*; and the second coincidence by itself would not be very remarkable. Nevertheless they appeal to us on the whole more powerfully than the other arguments for Theopompus, and seem to us to turn the scale slightly in his favour, so that in the heading of **842** we have placed Theopompus' name before that of Cratippus. On the other hand we feel more strongly than Meyer the difficulties (particularly those discussed on pp. 133–7) involved in his attractive hypothesis, which results in proving Theopompus to have been in his youth a greater historian and a worse stylist than has been generally supposed.

Call him by what name we will, our author's work entitles him to be classed among the select band of Greek historians of the first rank, below Thucydides indeed but above Xenophon, and the portions of his history which have been preserved constitute a notable addition to the extant evidence. Not only has it supplied new facts of importance regarding the events of 396–5 and the constitution of Boeotia, and thrown a new and unexpected light upon the sources other than Xenophon available to the later historians, but the agreement between P and Diodorus is bound to have far-reaching consequences. For quite apart from

Col. i (= A Col. i).

υποδετου[. . . . .]υσεξεπλευσετριηρησ
αθηνηθεν[. . . . .]δημουγνωμησι[. . .
δεδημαιν[. .]οσοκ . . ιοσαυτησκοινωσαμενο[. . .
απορητωτ[. .]ουλησλεγεταιπεριτουπραγ[. . .
5 επειδη[.]νι[. .]τησαναυτωτ[. . .]πολειτωνσυ[. .
καταβασεισπειραιακαικαθ[. . . . .]ναυνεκτ[.]ν
νεωσοικωναναγομεν[. . . . .]σκον[. .]αθο

the questions of his identity with Theopompus and the relation of Diodorus to that author and Ephorus, the discrepancies between Diodorus and Xenophon with regard to the events of 396–5 are now known to be due to the fact that Diodorus ultimately drew his account of those years from so well informed an authority as P ; and henceforth it will be necessary to take into consideration the probability that throughout the rest of the period from 411–394 the differences between Diodorus and Xenophon, e.g. with regard to the campaign of Thibron and the return of the Ten Thousand, are largely due to the same cause.

The credit of reconstructing the much damaged text of the papyrus is in a considerable measure due to Prof. F. Blass, who at first worked upon a rough copy. In November, 1906 the Greek was put into print, and the proof-sheets of it were revised by him shortly before his death. Proofs were also sent to Profs. E. Meyer and U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, and to the latter we are indebted for a number of valuable suggestions for the restorations of lacunae, &c., which are acknowledged in the notes, while E. Meyer has most generously placed at our disposal the very elaborate historical commentary upon the papyrus which he wrote in the winter of 1906–7, and which will be published shortly. This important contribution of the leading historian of Germany has of course been of inestimable service to us in composing our introduction and notes, though the conditions of some of the problems have been greatly altered by placing Cols. i–iv before v–viii instead of after them, as in the first proofs. Some suggestions on the text are also due to the late Prof. W. Dittenberger and to Prof. B. Niese, who were consulted by Prof. Blass. More recently the proofs of the whole edition were read by Profs. Meyer and Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, who have made some additional suggestions, and by Prof. J. B. Bury and Mr. E. M. Walker. To Prof. Bury we owe several excellent restorations in the text, while Mr. Walker's criticisms have materially assisted in the elucidation of some of the historical problems connected with the papyrus.

Col. i.

ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺ[ς αὐτοὺς χρόνο]υς ἐξέπλευσε τριήρης I. 1.
Ἀθήνηθεν [οὐ μετὰ τῆς τοῦ] δήμου γνώμης· ἰ[δίᾳ B. C. 396
δὲ Δημαίν[ετ]ος ὁ κ . . ιος αὐτῆς κοινωσάμενο[ς ἐν
ἀπορ(ρ)ήτῳ τ[ῇ] β[ουλῇ ὡς λέγεται περὶ τοῦ πράγ[ματος,
ἐπειδὴ [σ]υν[έσ]τησαν αὐτῷ ⟨τινες⟩ τ[ῶν] πολιτῶν συγ-
καταβὰς εἰς Πειραιᾶ καὶ καθ[ελκύσας] ναῦν ἐκ τ[ῶ]ν
νεωσοίκων ἀναγόμεν[ος ἔπλει πρὸ]ς Κόν[ων]α. θο- 2

ρυβουδεμεταυταγε[. . . . .]κ̣αιτ[. .]αθη
ναιωναγανακτουντῳ̣[. . . . .]ρι̣μ̣[. . .]αιχα
ριεντεσησανκαιλεγ[. . . . .]βα[. . .]σιτ̣η̣⁻
πολιναρχοντεσπολε[. . . . .]εδαιμον[.
ουσκαταπλαγεντεσοιβ[. . . . .]ν̣θορυβονσυ̣⁻
ηγαγοντονδημονουθενπρο̣σ̣[.]ο̣ιουμενοιμε
τεσχηκεναιτουπραγματοσσυνεληλυθοτοσδε
τουπληθουσανϊσταμενοιτωναθηναιωνοιτε
περιθρασυβουλονκαιαισιμονκαιανυτονεδιδα
σκοναυτουσοτιμεγαναιρουνταικινδυνονει
μητηνπολιναπολυσουσιτησαιτιαστωνδεαθη
ναιωνοιμενεπεικεισκαιτασουσιασεχοντεσε
στεργονταπαρονταοιδεπολλοικαιδημοτικοι
τοτεμενφοβηθεντεσεπεισθησαντοισσυνβουλευ
ουσικαιπεμψαντεσπροσμιλ̣ωνατοναρμοστην
τοναιγεινησειπο[.]οπωσδυ[.]αταιτειμωρεισθαι
τονδημαι[. .]τονωσο̣[. . .]τατησπολεωσταυτα
πεποιηκοτα[. .]προσθ̣[. . . . .]χεδοναπαντατον
χρονονεταρ̣[. .]τ̣οντ[. . . . .]ματακαιπολλατ̣[.]ισ
λακεδαιμο[. . .]σα̣[. . . . .]τ̣τεναπεπεμπ[.]ν
μενγαροπλ̣[. . . . .]ρ̣εσιασεπιτασναυστ̣α̣σ
μετατουκ[. . . . .]φ̣θησανδεπρεσβ[. .]σ̣
ωσβασιλεαπ̣[. . . . .]π̣[.]κρατητεκαιᾳ̣γνι
ανκαιτελε̣[. . .]ο̣ρονουσκαισυλλαβωνφαραξο
προτερονναυαρχοσαπεστειλεπροστουσλ[.]κε
δαιμονιουσοιᾳπεκτειναναυτουσηναντι
ουντοδεταυταπαροξυνοντωντωνπεριτο⁻
επικρατηκαικεφαλονουτοιγαρετυχονεπ̣ι̣θυ
μουντεσμαλιστατηνπολινκαιταυτηνεσχο⁻
ουκεπειδητειμοκρατειδιελεχθησανκαι[.]ο

Col. ii (= A Col. ii).

χρυσιον̣[. . . . .]προτερονκατοιτι[
νεσλεγ[. . . . .]αιταπαρεκεινουχρη̣[
ματατ[. . .]υ̣[. . . . .]τουσενβοιωτοισ

ρύβου δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα γε[νομένου,] καὶ τ[ῶν] Ἀθη-
ναίων ἀγανακτούντω[ν ὅσοι γνώ]ριμ[οι κ]αὶ χα-
ρίεντες ἦσαν καὶ λεγ[όντων ὅτι δια]βα[λοῦ]σι τὴν
πόλιν ἄρχοντες πολέ[μου πρὸς Λακ]εδαιμον[ί-
ους, καταπλαγέντες οἱ β[ουλευταὶ τὸ]ν θόρυβον συν-
ήγαγον τὸν δῆμον οὐδὲν προσ[π]οιούμενοι με-
τεσχηκέναι τοῦ πράγματος. συνελήλυθότος δὲ
τοῦ πλήθους ἀνιστάμενοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἵ τε
περὶ Θρασύβουλον καὶ Αἴσιμον καὶ Ἄνυτον ἐδίδα-
σκον αὐτοὺς ὅτι μέγαν αἱροῦνται κίνδυνον εἰ
μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἀπολύσουσι τῆς αἰτίας. τῶν δὲ Ἀθη- 3
ναίων οἱ μὲν ἐπ(ι)εικεῖς καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες ἔ-
στεργον τὰ παρόντα, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ δημοτικοὶ
τότε μὲν φοβηθέντες ἐπείσθησαν τοῖς συμβουλεύ-
ουσι, καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς Μίλωνα τὸν ἁρμοστὴν
τὸν Αἰγίνης εἶπο[ν] ὅπως δύ[ν]αται τιμωρεῖσθαι
τὸν Δημαί[νε]τον, ὡς ο[ὐ με]τὰ τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα
πεποιηκότα· [ἔμ]προσθ[εν δὲ σ]χεδὸν ἅπαντα τὸν
χρόνον ἐτάρ[ατ]τον τ[ὰ πράγ]ματα καὶ πολλὰ τ[ο]ῖς
Λακεδαιμο[νίοι]ς ἀ[ντέπρα]ττ⟨ο⟩ν. ἀπέπεμπ[ο]ν II. 1
μὲν γὰρ ὅπλ[α τε καὶ ὑπη]ρεσίας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς
μετὰ τοῦ Κ[όνωνος, ἐπέμ]φθησαν δὲ πρέσβ[ει]ς
ὡς βασιλέα π[. . . . . οἱ περὶ .]π[.]κράτη τε καὶ Ἀγνί-
αν καὶ Τελε[σήγ]ορον, οὓς καὶ συλλαβὼν Φάραξ ὁ
πρότερον ναύαρχος ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τοὺς Λ[α]κε-
δαιμονίους οἳ ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς. ἠναντι- 2
οῦντο δὲ ταῦτα παροξυνόντων τῶν περὶ τὸν
Ἐπικράτη καὶ Κέφαλον· οὗτοι γὰρ ἔτυχον ἐπιθυ-
μοῦντες μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν ⟨ἐκπολεμῶσαι⟩, καὶ ταύτην ⟨τὴν γνώμην⟩ ἔσχον
οὐκ ἐπειδὴ Τιμοκράτει διελέχθησαν καὶ [τ]ὸ

Col. ii.

χρυσίον [ἔλαβον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ] πρότερον. καίτοι τι-
νὲς λέγ[ουσιν αἴτια γινέσθ]αι τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου χρή-
ματα τ[οῦ σ]υ[στῆναι τούτους καὶ] τοὺς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς

καιτουσε[. .]α[. . . . . .]αισπροειρημεναισ[
ουκειδοτεσοτιπ[. . . . . .]νεβεβηκειπαλαι
δυσμενωσεχειν[. . . . . .]νι[.]υσκαισκοπει¯
οπωσεκπολεμω[. . . . .]τ[. . . . . .]σεμεισουνγαροι
μεναργειοικαιβοιωτ[. . . . . .]γωταιτουσλακε[
δαιμονιουσοτιτοισεναν[. . .]στωνπολειτων
αυτοισεχρωντοφιλοισ[.]ιδ[.]νταισαθηναισεπι[
θυμουντεσαπαλλαξαιτ[. .]σαθηνα[.]ουστηση[
συχιασκαιτησειρηνησκαι[. .]οαγαγεινεπιτοπο
λεμεινκαιπ[. .]υπρα[.]μονεινϊναυτοισεκτων[
κοινωνηχρηματιζεσ[.]αιτωνδεκορινθιων[
οιμεταστησαιταπρα[. .]αταζητουντεσοιμε¯
αλλοιτοισαργειοισκαιτοισβοιωτοισετυχονδυσμ[.
νωσδιακειμενοιπροστουσλακεδαιμονιουστ[. .
λαοσδεμονοσαυτοισδιαφοροσγεγονωσϊδ[.]ωνεγ[
κληματωνενεκαπροτεροναρισταδιακειμεν[. .
καιμαλισταλακωνιζωνωσεξεστικαταμαθειν[
εκτωνκατατονπολεμονσυ[.]βαντωντονδεκ[. .
λεικονεκεινοσγαροτεμενπενταναϊανεχων
επορθησετωννησωντιναστωνεπαθηναιο[.]σ
ουσωνοτεδεμεταδυστ[.]ιηρωνεισαμφιπολι¯
καταπλευσασκαιπαρε[. . .]νωνετεραστετ[. .]ρασ
συνπληρωσαμ[. . . . . .]σεσιχιονναυμ[. .]ω¯
τονστρατηγον[. . . . . .]ιωνωσπερειρηκ[. .]ου
καιπροτερονκ[. . . . . .]ιστασπολεμ[.]ασ[. . .]βε¯
ουσασπεντεκ[. . . . . .]εμψαντρια[. . .]α
μεταδεταυτα[. . . . . .]εχωντριηρ[. . .]κατα
πλευσασεισθασ[.]ναπεστησεταυτηντ[.]ναθη
ναιωνοιμενουνενταισπολεσιταισπροει
ρημεναισδιατανταπολυμαλλονηδιαφαρνα
βαζονκαιτοχρυσιονεπηρμενοιμεισεινη[.]α¯
τουσλακεδαιμονιουσοδεμιλωνοτησαιγ[. .
νησαρμοστη[.]ωσηκουσεταπαρατωναθην[. .
ωνσυνπληρωσαμενοστριηρηδιαταχεω[. .

καὶ τοὺς ἐ[ν τ]α[ῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι τ]αῖς προειρημέναις,
οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι π[ᾶσιν αὐτοῖς συ]νεβεβήκει πάλαι
δυσμενῶς ἔχειν [πρὸς Λακεδαιμο]νί[ο]υς καὶ σκοπεῖν
ὅπως ἐκπολεμώ[σουσι] τ[ὰς πόλει]ς. ἐμίσουν γὰρ οἱ
μὲν Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Βοιωτ[οὶ . . . .]γωται τοὺς Λακε-
δαιμονίους ὅτι τοῖς ἐναν[τίοι]ς τῶν πολιτῶν
αὐτοῖς ἐχρῶντο φίλοις, [ο]ἱ δ' [ἐ]ν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐπι-
θυμοῦντες ἀπαλλάξαι τ[οὺ]ς Ἀθηνα[ί]ους τῆς ἡ-
συχίας καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ [πρ]οαγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ πο-
λεμεῖν καὶ π[ολ]υπρα[γ]μονεῖν, ἵν' αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν
κοινῶν ᾖ χρηματίζεσ[θ]αι. τῶν δὲ Κορινθίων 3
οἱ μεταστῆσαι τὰ πρά[γμ]ατα ζητοῦντες οἱ μὲν
ἄλλοι ⟨παραπλησίως?⟩ τοῖς Ἀργείοις καὶ τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς ἔτυχον δυσμ[ε-
νῶς διακείμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, Τ[ιμό-
λαος δὲ μόνος αὐτοῖς διάφορος γεγονὼς ἰδ[ί]ων ἐγ-
κλημάτων ἕνεκα, πρότερον ἄριστα διακείμεν[ος
καὶ μάλιστα Λακωνίζων, ὡς ἔξεστι καταμαθεῖν
ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον συ[μ]βάντων τὸν Δεκ[ε-
λεικόν. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὁτὲ μὲν πεντ⟨ε⟩ναῖαν ἔχων 4
ἐπόρθησε τῶν νήσων τινὰς τῶν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίο[ι]ς
οὐσῶν, ὁτὲ δὲ μετὰ δύο τ[ρ]ιήρων εἰς Ἀμφίπολιν
καταπλεύσας καὶ παρ' ἐ[κεί]νων ἑτέρας τέτ[τα]ρας
συμπληρωσάμ[ενος ἐνίκη]σε Σίχιον ναυμ[αχ]ῶν
τὸν στρατηγὸν [τῶν Ἀθηνα]ίων, ὥσπερ εἴρηκ[ά π]ου
καὶ πρότερον, κ[αὶ τριήρε]ις τὰς πολεμ[ί]ας [ἔλα]βεν
οὔσας πέντε κ[αὶ πλοῖα ἃ ἐπ]εμψαν τριά[κοντ]α·
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα [. . . . .] ἔχων τριήρ[εις] κατα-
πλεύσας εἰς Θάσ[ο]ν ἀπέστησε ταύτην τ[ῶ]ν Ἀθη-
ναίων. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς προει- 5
ρημέναις διὰ ταῦτα πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ Φαρνά-
βαζον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἐπηρμένοι μισεῖν ἦ[σ]αν
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ὁ δὲ Μίλων ὁ τῆς Αἰγ[ί- III. 1
νης ἁρμοστή[ς,] ὡς ἤκουσε τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἀθην[αί-
ων, συμπληρωσάμενος τριήρη διὰ ταχέω[ν

εδιωκετονδημαινετονοδεκατατουτοντ[.
χρονονετυχεμενωνπεριθορικοντησατ[.
τικησε[. . .]δηδεπροσπλευσασεκειν[.]σπρο[.

Col. iii (=A Col. iii with Frs. 1 and 2).

(Fr. 1)

[. . . . .]επεχειρη[. . . . .]ειναρμησενεπιπολυ
[. . . . .]ειυκρατησ[. . . . .]εωσαυτωντημεμυ
[. . . . .]ναυνοτιχε[. . . . .]αφοσαυτουκατελιπε
[. . . . .]τηνεκειν[. . . . .]ασαστουσαυτουναυ
[. . . . .]ρεπλ[.]υσεν[. . . . .]τευματομετατου
]ωνεισαιγειναυμε
]ενουναδροτατατων
]ιτουτοσυμβαντων
] . ετου[.]ερουστημεν
]ετοσογδοονενειστηκει
]αροσταστριηρεισαπα
]κειδεκαταπλευσαστασ
]ενετυχενγαραιειτου
]κευακωσηννεωρια
]σοπουσυνεπειπτεν
]τονδεφαρναβαζονα
]παραγενεσθαιβουλο
]αικαιμισθοναπολα
]ροσμενουναυτουδιε
]εδαιμονιωνκαιτω
]ναυαρχοσεκλακε
]ναρχελαϊδακατα
]τονχρονονφοινεικω
]ανηεσεισκαυνονων
]κιασαιδελειπουσαι
]ασακτωνοσιδωνιοσ
]ιλειτοισταυτηστησ
]ριτη[.]ναυαρχιανφαρ

ἐδίωκε τὸν Δημαίνετον· ὁ δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τ[ὸν
χρόνον ἔτυχε μένων περὶ Θορικὸν τῆς Ἀτ-
τικῆς. ἐ[πει]δὴ δὲ προσπλεύσας ἐκεῖν[ο]ς πρὸ[ς 2

Col. iii.

[Θορικὸν] ἐπεχείρη[σεν ἐμβαλ]εῖν, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ πολὺ
[προπλ]εῖν· κρατήσ[ας δὲ . . . ν]εὼς αὐτῶν τὴν μὲν ὑ-
[φ' αὑτῷ] ναῦν, ὅτι χε[ῖρον ἦν τὸ σκ]άφος, αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν,
[εἰς δὲ] τὴν ἐκείν[ων μεταβιβ]άσας τοὺς αὑτοῦ ναύ-
[τας πρ]οέπλ[ε]υσεν [ἐπὶ τὸ στρά]τευμα τὸ μετὰ τοῦ
[Κόνωνος . . . . . ὁ δὲ Μίλ]ων εἰς Αἴγιναν με-
[τὰ . . . . . τὰ μ]ὲν οὖν ἀδρότατα τῶν IV. 1
[. . . . . περ]ὶ τοῦτο συμβάντων
[οὕτως ἐγένετο· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ]δε τοῦ [θ]έρους τῇ μὲν B.C. 396
] ἔτος ὄγδοον ἐνειστήκει.
]αρος τὰς τριήρεις απα-
ἐ]κεῖ δὲ καταπλεύσας τὰς
]εν, ἔτυχεν γὰρ ἀεὶ τοῦ
κατεσ]κευακὼς ἦν νεώρια
]ς ὅπου συνέπιπτεν
] τὸν δὲ Φαρνάβαζον α-
] παραγενέσθαι βουλό-
[μενος]αι καὶ μισθὸν ἀπολα-
[βεῖν α]ρος μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ διέ- 2
[τριβεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ναῦς τῶν Λακ]εδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν
[συμμάχων ἀφικνεῖται Πόλλις] ναύαρχος ἐκ Λακε-
[δαίμονος . . . . . τὴ]ν Ἀρχελαΐδα κατα-
[. . . . . κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐ]τὸν χρόνον Φοινίκων
[. . . . . ἦκον ἐνενήκοντ]α νῆες εἰς Καῦνον ὧν
[δέκα μὲν ἔπλευσαν ἀπὸ Κιλι]κίας αἱ δὲ λείπουσαι
[ἀπὸ . . . . . .] ἃς Ἄκτων ὁ Σιδώνιος
[. . . . . βασ]ιλεῖ τοῖς ταύτης τῆς
[. . . . . πε]ρὶ τὴ[ν] ναυαρχίαν Φαρ-

]ντωναὐτοντωνπαρα
] . αροστᾰπεριτηναρχη¯
]πεδονκ[.]νωνδεπροσ̣
]σθομενοσαναλαβω¯
]πληρωσασταστριηρεισ
]σ̣ταποταμ[.]ντονκαυ
]ντηνκ[.]υ̣νιανεισεπλευ
]υφαρναβαζουκαιτουκ̣ο
]ρνη[.]ανηρπερσησπα
]τ̣ωνπραγματωνο̣σ̣
]ουλετολαβ̣ε̣ι̣ν̣[.]ατα
] . νδε̣πρ̣[.] . [. . .]ν̣[.]με̣[. .]υφιλ̣[.]α̣ν (Fr. 2)
] . οσαπ̣ε̣πε̣μψε̣νω[.]βασιλε|αρ̣[. . .]α̣
]ησκηνηναὐτουλ̣[. . . . .]|ηλθ̣|[. . .]ν
]παγγειλασδεταπ̣[. . . .]|εαρ̣α̣|[. .]υ̣

Col. iv (=A Col. iv).

25 lines lost

26 . [
. [
α̣[
φε̣[
30 α . [
π[
β . [
τ̣α̣[. . .]τ̣α̣[
πο̣υτα[
35 αρχ[.]ντ[
κουσ̣ϊ̣στ[
σιντασμ̣[
[.]ωσινπ̣ρ̣[
[. .]τεκελ̣[
40 νω̣ο̣υδ̣[
ε̣χοντεσ[
ειχονγα̣[

[νάβαζος . . . . . παροξυνό]ντων αὐτὸν τῶν παρα-
[. . . . . ὁ μὲν οὖν . . . .] . αρος τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν
[. . . . . τὸ στρατό]πεδον. Κ[ό]νων δὲ προσ-
[. . . . . αἰ]σθόμενος ἀναλαβὼν
[. . . . . συμ]πληρώσας τὰς τρίηρεις
[. . . . . .]στα ποταμ[ὸ]ν τὸν Καύ-
[νιον καλούμενον εἰς λίμνη]ν τὴν Κ[α]υνίαν εἰσέπλευ-
[σε . . . . . το]ῦ Φαρναβάζου καὶ τοῦ Κό-
[νωνος . . . . . .]ρνη[ς] ἀνὴρ Πέρσης πα-
[. . . . . .] τῶν πραγμάτων ὃς
[. . . . . ἠβ]ούλετο λαβεῖν [κ]ατα-
[. . . . . .] . ν δὲ πρ[.] . [. . .]ν[.]με[. .]ν φιλ[ί]αν
[. . . . . .] . ος ἀπέπεμψεν ὡ[ς] βασιλέα σ[. . .]α-
[. . . . . τ]ὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ λ[. . . . .]ῆλθ[ε . .]ν
[. . . . . ἀ]παγγείλας δὲ τὰ π[. . . . .]εασα[. .]υ

Col. iv.

25 lines lost

26 . [V
. [
α[
φε[
α . [
π[
β . [
τα[. .]τα[
ποντα[
ἀρχ[ο]ντ[
κους ιστ[
σιν τὰς μ[
[.]ωσιν πρ[
[. .]τεκελ[
ιων οὐδ[
ἔχοντες [
εἶχον γὰ[ρ

Some columns lost.

Col. v (=B Col. i with Fr. 3). Plate IV.

2nd hand

]· ε̣ι̣σινδεκα[. . .
]νιππεων[. . .
]· ενιοιδεπρ̣[. . .
]σ̣τιον· ημεν[. . .
]τοιαυτηικ[. .]ι̣[.
]ι̣σ αγησιλα[. .]δε
]σ̣τρ̣ατο̣π[.]δ̣ο̣ ̄
]κ̣α[. .]τ̣ρι
]τ̣αορηταξ̣αμε
]ουσ ταυτ̣ηπαλι ̄
]η̣στοιαυτηιφ̣θα̣
]σ̣τοστρατοπεδον
]ειν· τισσαφερ[.]ησ
]λ̣ουθειτοισελλη[.]ιν
]κ̣ισχιλιουσκα̣[.]μ̣υ
]υ̣κελαττο̣υσ
]σαμενο̣σχαλε
]υσεκπαρατα
]π̣ε̣ρ̣εχοντασ·
]λ̣ωσκαικρα
]στρατηγιασ
]σ̣α̣ν̣ταμαχ̣εσθαι
]ω̣ν̣σ̣τρατευμα
]σ̣α̣σ̣· οιδεβαρβα
]εσκαισυντετα
]εχ̣οντεστοσου
]υνατοσα̣φ̣ορμα ̄
]τειδοντο̣υ̣σελλ̣η
]υτετηνπορειαν
]καταφρονειν
ε
]ντασαυτουσ
]τουστρατευ
]προσβαλο̣ν̣

Col. v. Plate IV.

VI. 1
B.C. 395

]. εἰσὶν δὲ κα[. . .
τῶ]ν ἱππέων [. . .
]. ἔνιοι δὲ πρ[. . .
]στιον. ἡ μὲν [οὖν
] τοιαύτῃ κ[. .]ι[.
]ις. Ἀγησίλα[ος] δὲ 2
τὸ] στρατόπ[ε]δον
τὸ] Κα[ὐσ]τρι-
[ον πεδίον] τὰ ὄρη ταξάμε-
[νος]ους, ταύτῃ πάλιν
]ης τοιαύτῃ φθά-
[σας]ς τὸ στρατόπεδον
]ειν. Τισσαφέρ[ν]ης 3
[δὲ ἐπηκο]λούθει τοῖς Ἕλλη[σ]ιν
[ἔχων ἱππέας μὲν . . . α]κισχιλίους κα[ὶ] μυ-
[ρίους, πεζοὺς δὲ . . . . . μυρίων ο]ὐκ ἐλάττους.
[Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἡγη]σάμενος χαλε-
[πὸν προσβάλλοντας τοὺς πολεμίο]υς ἐκ παρατά-
[ξεως ἀμύνεσθαι πολὺ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑ]περέχοντας,
[ἔταξεν ἐν πλινθίῳ τὸ στράτευμα . .]λως καὶ κρα-
[τ] στρατηγίας
]σαντα μάχεσθαι
]ων στράτευμα
]σας, οἱ δὲ βάρβα-
[ροι]ες καὶ συντετα-
[γμένη] ἔχοντες τοσου-
[τ δ]υνατὸς ἀφορμᾶν
κα]τεῖδον τοὺς Ἕλλη-
[νας ο]ὔτε τὴν πορείαν
] καταφρονεῖν
]ντες αὐτοὺς
] τοῦ στρατεύ-
[ματος] προσβαλον-

]ωθεντο̣υ̣πλι̣¯
]ο̣νπροσετατ
]τουσδεπελοπο¯
]ι̣προσηγεπ̣ο̣
] . ω̣ρατο̣υ̣σ̣ελλη
]λ̣εονα[. .]ω̣ναει
]μ̣ο̣ιωσ ε[. .]διε
(Fr. 3)]ν̣εγ̣γυτερωιμαλ
λο̣[ ]δεναλλητον[.
ποτ̣[ ]γ̣αραμφοτερ[. .
ηγ̣[ ]ετ[.]προϊον[. . .
δ̄ δ̣ε̣[ ]λ̣ιγ̣[. . .]σ̣[. . . . .
ει[ ]τ̣ευμ̣[. . . . . .
τε[ ]α̣ν̣[. . . .] . · α[. . .
λα[ ] . υ[. . .
τ̣[ ]α̣τ̣[.] . μ̣α̣[. . .
[ ]ι̣πονο[. . .
[ ]α̣ρ̣ασκευα[. .
. [ ]ι̣ο̣υ̣σινατ̣η̣ι̣ν . [. . .
[ ]τ̣α[.]ε̣μουσι̣[. . . .
κα[ ]ωνηνπολλ̣[. .
. α]βουλευσομ[. . .
π . [ ]ν̣τονενια . [. . .
οι . [ ]νοιτινει̣α̣[. . .
ε . [ ]υ̣σεγνωκα . [. .]
ο̣ . [ ] . τωντησνυκτ[. .]
. ι[ ]ο̣πλειτασ[. . . .]

Col. vi (=B Col. ii). Plate IV

τακοσιουσδ[. .]ε̣ιλουσ· καιτο[. . . . . .
ξενοκλεα[.]παρτιατηνπ̣[. . . . . .
βαδιζοντε̣[.]καταυτουσ[. . . . . .
εισμαχηντ[. . .]ε̣σ̣θαι· [. . . . . .]κ̣[. .
αναστησασα[. . . . . .]ε̣ρα̣[. .]ο̣[. .]ρ̣α̣[. . .]υ̣[. . . . . .]ανη

[τ ἔξ]ωθεν τοῦ πλιν-
[θίου]ον προσέτατ-
[τε] τοὺς δὲ Πελοπον-
[νησίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους]ι προσῆγε πο-
] . ωρα τοὺς Ἕλλη-
[νας]λεον α[. .]ων ἀεὶ
ὁ]μοίως ε[. .]διε-
]ν ἐγγυτέρῳ μᾶλ-
λο[ν οὐ]δὲν ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν
ποτ[ ] γὰρ ἀμφοτέρ[. .
ηγ[ ]ετ[.] προιόν[τ. .
δε[ὀ]λίγ[. . .]σ[. . . . .
ει[στρα]τευμ[α . . . . . .
τε[ ]αν[. . . .] ., Ἀ[γησί-
λα[ος δὲ] . υ[. . .
τ[στρ]ατ[ε]υμα[. . .
]ιπονο[. . .
π]αρασκευα[. .
]ιους ἵνα τῇ ν . [. . .
κα]τα[ν]έμουσι [. . . .
κα[ ]ωνην πολλ[. .
. α[ ] βουλευσομ[εν . .
π . [ ]ν τὸν ἐνια . [. . .
οι . [ ]νοιτινεια[. . .
ε . [ ]υς ἔγνω κα . [. .]
ο . [ ] . των τῆς νυκτ[ὸς] 4
. ι[μὲν] ὁπλίτας [. . . .]

Col. vi. Plate IV.

τακοσίους δ[ὲ ψ]ιλούς, καὶ το[ύτοις ἐπέστησεν ἄρχοντα
Ξενοκλέα [Σ]παρτιάτην π[αραγγείλας ὅταν γένωνται
βαδίζοντε[ς] κατ' αὐτοὺς [. . . . . .
εἰς μάχην τ[άσσ]εσθαι. [εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν . . . .]κ[. .
ἀναστήσας ἅ[μα ἡμ]έρᾳ [τ]ὸ [στ]ρα[τε]ύ[μα πάλιν] ἀνή-

γενειστοπρ[. . . . .]δεβαρβαροισυνα[. . . . .]αντεσ
ωσειωθεσα[. . . . .]ναυτωνπροσεβαλλ[. .]τοισελλη
σινοιδεπε[. . . .]υοναυτουσ· οιδεκ[.]τατοπε
διονατακτ[. . . .]ηκολουθουν· οδεξ[.]νοκλησ

επειδηκαιρ[. . . .]ελαβενειναιτοισπολεμιοισεπι
χειρειν· ανα[. . . .]ασεκτησενεδραστουσπελοπο-
νησιουσεωθ[. . . .]ομωιτωνδεβαρβαρωνωσειδονε
καστοιπροσθε[. .]ταστουσελληνασ· εφευγονκαθαπαν
τοπεδιον· αγ[. . . .]αοσδεκατιδωνπεφοβημενουσαυ
τουσεπεμπεναποτουστρατευματοστουστεκουφουσ
[.]ωνστρατιωτων· καιτουσιππεασδιωξοντασεκεινουσ·
οιδεμετατωνεκτησενεδρασαναστασεσενεκειντο
τωνβαρβαρων[·] επακολουθησαντεσδετοισπολεμι[.]ισ
ουλιανπολυ[.]χρονον· ουγαρ[. . .]ναντοκαταλαμβα
νειεαυτουσατετ[.]υπολλων[. .] . εωνοντωνκαιγυ
μνητων· καταβαλλουσινμεν[. .]τωνπεριεξακοσι
ουσ· αποσταντεσδετησδιω[. . .]σ· εβ[.]δ[.]ζονεπαυ
τοτοστρατοπεδοντοτωνβα[. . .]ρων[· . .]ταλαβον
τεσδεφυλακην· ουσπουδαι[. . .]αθε[. . .]σαν· ταχε
ωσαιρουσιν· κα[.]λαμβανουσιν[.]υτων[. . .]λημενα
γοραν· συχνο[. .]δεανθρωπο[.]σ[·] πολλ[. . .]σκευη· και
χρηματαμεν[. .]ναλλωνταδ[.]τισσαφε[. . . . .]αυτου (1st hand) γε
νομενησδετ[. .]μαχηστοιαυ[.]ησοιμε[. . .]ρβαροικα
ταπλαγεντεσ[. . . .]ελληνασαπεχωρησ[. . . . .]τωτισ
σαφερνειπροστασσαρδεισαγησιλαοσδεπερ[. . .]ινασαυ
τουτρεισημερασεναιστουσνεκρουσϋποσπ[. .]δουσαπε
δωκεντοισπ[.]λεμιοισκαιτροπαιονεστη[. .]καιτη-
γηναπασανε[. . . .]ησενπροηγεντοστρ[. . .]υμαεισ
φρυγιανπαλιν[. . .]μεγαληνεποιειτοδε[.]ηνπορειαν
ουκετισυντεταγμενουσεχωνεντωπλ[.]νθειωτουσ
στρατιωτασαλλεωναυτουσοσηνηβουλοντοτησχω
ρασεπιεναικαικακωσποιε[. . . . .]πολεμ[.]ουστισσαφερ
νησδεπυθομενοστουσε[. . . . .]αδιζεινειστοπροσθε
αναλαβωναυθιστουσβ[. . . . .]πη[. . . .]υθειοπισθε-

γεν εἰς τὸ πρ[όσθεν. οἱ] δὲ βάρβαροι συνα[κολουθήσ]αντες
ὡς εἰώθεσα[ν οἱ μὲ]ν αὐτῶν προσέβαλλ[ον] τοῖς Ἕλλη-
σιν, οἱ δ' ἐπε[. . . . .]νον αὐτούς, οἱ δὲ κ[α]τὰ τὸ πε-
δίον ἀτάκτ[ως ἐπ]ηκολούθουν. ὁ δὲ Ξ[ε]νοκλῆς,
ἐπειδὴ καιρ[ὸν ὑπ]έλαβεν εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπι-
χειρεῖν, ἀνα[στήσ]ας ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας τοὺς Πελοπον-
νησίους ἔ{ω}θ[ει δρ]όμῳ. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὡς εἶδον ἕ-
καστοι προσθέ[ον]τας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔφευγον καθ' ἅπαν
τὸ πεδίον· Ἀγ[ησίλ]αος δὲ κατιδὼν πεφοβημένους αὐ-
τοὺς ἔπεμπεν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος τούς τε κούφους
[τ]ῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας διώξοντας ἐκείνους·
οἱ δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας ἀναστάντων ἐνέκειντο
τ⟨οῖς⟩ βαρβάρ⟨οις⟩. ἐπακολουθήσαντες δὲ τοῖς πολεμί[ο]ις
οὐ λίαν πολὺ[ν] χρόνον, οὐ γὰρ [ἠδύ]ναντο καταλαμβά-
νειν {ε}αὐτοὺς ἅτε τ[ῶ]ν πολλῶν [ἱπ]πέων ὄντων καὶ γυ-
μνήτων, καταβάλλουσιν μὲν [αὐ]τῶν περὶ ἑξακοσί-
ους, ἀποστάντες δὲ τῆς διώ[ξεω]ς ἐβ[ά]δ[ι]ζον ἐπ' αὐ-
τὸ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν βα[ρβάρ]ων. [κα]ταλαβόν-
τες δὲ φυλακὴν οὐ σπουδαί[ως κ]αθε[στῶ]σαν ταχέ-
ως αἱροῦσιν, κα[ὶ] λαμβάνουσιν [α]ὐτῶν [πολ]λὴν μὲν ἀ-
γορὰν συχνο[ὺς] δὲ ἀνθρώπο[υ]ς, πολλ[ὰ δὲ] σκεύη καὶ
χρήματα ⟨τὰ⟩ μὲν [τῶ]ν ἄλλων τὰ δ[ὲ] Τισσαφέ[ρνους] αὐτοῦ. γε- VII. 1
νομένης δὲ τ[ῆς] μάχης τοιαύ[τ]ης οἱ μὲ[ν βά]ρβαροι κα-
ταπλαγέντες [τοὺς] Ἕλληνας ἀπεχώρησ[αν σὺν] τῷ Τισ-
σαφέρνει πρὸς τὰς Σάρδεις· Ἀγησίλαος δὲ περ[ιμε]ίνας αὐ-
τοῦ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπ[όν]δους ἀπέ-
δωκεν τοῖς π[ο]λεμίοις καὶ τρόπαιον ἔστη[σε] καὶ τὴν
γῆν ἅπασαν ἐ[πόρθ]ησεν, προῆγεν τὸ στρ[άτ]ευμα εἰς
Φρυγίαν πάλιν [τὴν] μεγάλην. ἐποιεῖτο δὲ [τ]ὴν πορείαν 2
οὐκέτι συντεταγμένους ἔχων ἐν τῷ πλ[ι]νθίῳ τοὺς
στρατιώτας, ἀλλ' ἐῶν αὐτοὺς ὅσην ἠβούλοντο τῆς χώ-
ρας ἐπιέναι καὶ κακῶς ποιε[ῖν τοὺς] πολεμ[ί]ους. Τισσαφέρ-
νης δὲ πυθόμενος τοὺς Ἕ[λληνας β]αδίζειν εἰς τὸ πρόσθε⟨ν⟩
ἀναλαβὼν αὖθις τοὺς β[αρβάρους ἐ]πη[κολο]ύθει ὄπισθεν

αυτωνπολλουσσταδιο[. . . . . .]ησιλ[. . .]δεδιεξελθ[. .
τοπε[.]ιοντοτωνλυδων[. . . . . .]ατιαν[. . . . . .]διατω[.
ορωντωνδιαμεσουκε[. . . . . .]τη[. . . . . .]καιτησ
φρυγιασεπειδηδεδιεπορ[. . . . . .]ασε
τουσελληνασειστηνφ[. . . . . .]ον
μαιανδρονποταμονο[. . . . . .]
νωνητωνενφρυγιαμεγιστη[. . . . . .
εισθαλασσανπαραπριηνηνκ[. . . . . .
τοπεδευσασδετουσπελοπ[. . . . . .
[.]υμμαχουσεθυετοποτ[. .]αχ[. .]δ[.]αβ[. . . . . .
μονημηκαιβαδιζειν επικελα[. . . . . .]ουσ
στρατιωτασαπαγεινωσδεσυνεβ[. . . . . .]μη
γεινεσθαικαλαταϊεραπεριμε[.]να[. . . . . .]εημε
ρανηνπαρεγενετοκαιτηνεπιο[. . . . . .]εντο

Col. vii (=B Col. iii with Frs. 4–6 and Fr. 7 Col. i).

(Fr. 4)

[. . . . . .]λαοσμενου[. . . .
[. . . . . .]δρουκαλουμενο[.
δ[. . . . . .] . νεμονταιλυδ[. .
κ[. . . . . .] . δεβασιλευσ
. [. . . . . .]ερι τουτουσ
τ[. . . . . .]ατηγοναμα[.
δε[. . . . . .] . τισσαφερνη
ετ[. . . . . .]υσελληνασ
οι . [. . . . . .]νονκαιμαλ
λο[. . . . . .] . διχακει
με[
ε ξ[
συ[. . . . . .]αφ[
οπ[. . . . . .]ερξη[
δια[. . . . . .]απαρ[(Fr. 5)
λο[. . . . . .]κα[. .]οιτε[. . . . .] . ρα[
ορχ[. . . . . .]αυτωκατηγ[.] . α[.]αδι[

40 αὐτῶν πολλοὺς σταδίο[υς διέχων. Ἀγ]ησίλ[αος] δὲ διεξελθ[ὼν 3
τὸ πε[δ]ίον τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν [ἦγε τὴν στρ]ατιὰν [. . . . . .] διὰ τῶ[ν
ὀρῶν τῶν διὰ μέσου κε[ιμένων . . .] τῆ[ς Λυδίας] καὶ τῆς
Φρυγίας· ἐπειδὴ δὲ διεπορ[εύθησαν ταῦτα κατεβίβ]ασε
τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰς τὴν Φ[ρυγίαν ἕως ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τ]ὸν
45 Μαίανδρον ποταμόν, δ[ς . . . . . ῥέων ἀπὸ Κελαι-
νῶν, ἣ τῶν ἐν Φρυγίᾳ μεγίστη [πόλις ἐστίν, ἐκδίδωσιν
εἰς θάλατταν παρὰ Πριήνην κ[αὶ . . . . . καταστρα- 4
τοπεδεύσας δὲ τοὺς Πελοπ[ονν]ησίους καὶ τοὺς
[σ]υμμάχους ἐθύετο πότ[ερ]α χ[ρὴ] δ[ι]αβ[αίνειν τὸν ποτα-
50 μὸν ἢ μή, καὶ βαδίζειν ἐπὶ Κελα[ινὰς ἢ πάλιν τ]οὺς
στρατιώτας ἀπάγειν. ὡς δὲ συνέβ[αινεν αὐτῷ] μὴ
γίγνεσθαι καλὰ τὰ ἱερά, περιμε[ί]ναι ἐκεῖ τήν τ]ε ἡμέ-
ραν ἣν παρεγένετο καὶ τὴν ἐπιο[ῦσαν ἀπῆγ]εν τὸν

Col. vii.

[στρατὸν . . . . . Ἀγησί]λαος μὲν οὖ[ν . . .
[. . . . . τὸ πεδίον τὸ Μαιάν]δρου καλούμενο[ν
δ[. . . . .] . νέμονται Λυδ[οὶ
κ[. . . . .] . δὲ βασιλεὺς VIII.
5 . [. . . . . .π]ερὶ τούτους
τ[. . . . . στρ]ατηγὸν ἅμα
δὲ [. . . . .] . Τισσαφέρνῃ
ετ[. . . . . το]ὺς Ἕλληνας
οι . [. . . . .]νον καὶ μᾶλ-
10 λο[ν . . . . .] . δίχα κει-
με[ν
ἐξ[
συ[. . . . . Τισσ]αφ[έρν . . . . . .
οπ[. . . . . Ἀρταξ]έρξ[. . . . . .
15 δια[. . . . . .]απαρ[. . . . . .
λο[. . . . . .]κα[. .]οιτε[. . . . .] . σα[. . . . . .
οργ[. . . . . .] αὐτῷ κατηγ[.] . α[.]α δι[. . . . . .

σα[. . .]τεβασιλευσομολογουν|τ[. .]μαλιστ[
δι[. . . .]σαφερνηνκαιπα[.]ων|εκεινον[
παντωνκαθατιθρα|[. . . . .]υτονκα[.] . . [
οσεπειδηκαταφ[. . . . . .]γιανκαιλυδ[
το[. . . .]εναιεπεμψ|[. . . . . .]ολασασεφερ[
ρα[. . . . . .]ιπροσαρι|[. . . . . .]σσαφ.]ρνη[
επ[. . . . .]οπροσμε . [. .]αιον|ωσα . [
στ . [. . . . .]λαβειινεκεν[. . .]αιδ[
ευ[. . . . . .]υτουγε[. . .]ται[
πε[. . . . . .]νουτο[. . . .]ου[
λω[. . . . . .] . νε[.]ελλενηχ[
σιν[. . . . . .]ιθρανσ[(Fr. 7 Col. i.)
τα . [. . . . . .]τ[. . . . . .]δε
δο . [. . . . . .]τησ
αποκρε[. . . . . .]ν[. .
ριζεσθ[
οποτεα[(Fr. 6)
φερνη[. .]πεστειλεντ|[. . . . . .]οαρ|[. . . . . .]ο
αρ[.]α[.]οσεισσαρδειστο|[. . . . . .]ονου[
νατοστισσαφερνη|[. . . . . .] . ρια . [
βελτιστοιτωνστρ[. . .]γω|[. . .] . ιανετε . [
δυν[. .]ερονεξειντ[. .]ατατη|[.]σα[.]ραπια[
ουκα[.]ημενουπερι[.]ηνμαγν|[.]σ[.]αεμι[
των[. .]ζω[.]καιτωνιππεω|[. . .]ωπρο[
ε[. . .]ονδ[. .]κειμενου[
λ[.]υσαλληποι[. .] . αν[
βουλομενοσδ[. .]π[.] . [
στρατευματα[.] . [

Col. viii (=Fr. 7 Col. ii).

[
[
[. . . .]ν[
[. . .]προ[

σα[. . .]τε βασιλεὺς ὁμολογουντ[. .] μάλιστ[α . . . . . .
δι[ὰ Τισ]σαφέρνην καὶ πα[.]ων ἐκεῖνον [. . . . . .
πάντων καθ' ἃ Τιθρα[ύστης α]ὐτὸν κα[.] . .[. . . . . .
δς ἐπειδὴ καταφ[. . . . . Φρυ]γίαν καὶ Λυδ[ίαν . . . . . .
το[. . . .]εν ἀνέπεμψ[εν ἐπιστ]ολὰς ἃς ἔφερ[ε . . . . . .
ρα[. . . . . .]ι πρὸς Ἀρι[αῖον Τι]σσαφ[έ]ρνη[. . . . . .
ἐπ[. . . . .]ο πρὸς Με[. .]αιον ὡς α . [. . . . . .
στ . [. . . .]λαβεῖν ἐκεν[. . .]αιδ[. . . . . .
ευ[. . . . . .]υτου γε[. . .]ται[. . . . . .
πε[. . . . . .]νουτο[. . . . .]ου[. . . . . .
λω[. . . . . .] . ν ἔ[μ]ελλεν ηχ[. . . . . .
σιν[. . . . . Τ]ιθραύσ[τ . . . . . .
τα . [. . . . . .]τ[. . . . . .] δὲ
δο . [. . . . . .]της
ἀποκρε[. . . . . .]ν[. .
ρίξεσθ[αι . . . . . .
ὁπότε α[. . . . . Τισσα-
φέρνη[. ἀ]πέστειλεν τ[. . . . . .]ο αρ[. . . . . .]ο
Ἀρ[ι]α[ῖ]ος εἰς Σάρδεις το[. . . . . .]ονου[. . . . . δυ-
νατὸς Τισσαφέρνη[. . . . . .] . ρια . [. . . . . .
βέλτιστοι τῶν στρ[ατη]γῶ[ν. .] . ιαν ἐτε . [. . . . ἀκιν-
δυν[ότ]ερον ἔξειν τ[ὰ κ]ατὰ τὴ[ν] σα[τ]ραπία[ν Ἀγησιλά-
ου καὶ [θ]ημένου περὶ [τ]ὴν Μαγν[η]σ[ί]αν ἐμι[. . . . . .
τῶν [πε]ζῶ[ν] καὶ τῶν ἱππέω[ν. . .]ω προ[. . . . . .
ε[. . .]ον δ[ια]κειμένου[ἄλ-
λ[ο]υς ἄλλῃ ποι[. .] . αν[
βουλόμενος δ[. .]π[.] . [
στράτευμα τα[.] . [

Col. viii.

2 lines lost

[. . .]ν[
[. . .]προ[

παρταξ̣[
ταημερα̣[
αυτονα̣[
γιασεπια̣[
τοντιθρ[
φερνησ̣[
πραξινα̣[
κοδομε̣[
πο̣λεωσ . [
ὕποτωγ̣[
. εβαδ[
τω̣τιθρα[
σ̣[.]α̣ιπαρα[
ε̣π̣ιστολα̣[
προστηνα̣[
τιασ̣κατα . [
. εμειλη[
ψασκαιτα̣ . [
τηρ̣ενειϲ̣[
αριαι̣ονε̣[
ταδεταυ̣[
διατρειβω̣[
ιματια̣τ̣[
νονσυνα̣ρ̣[
κ̣αιμεταπ̣[
[. .]λο̣ι̣ . νι̣π̣[
σ̣υ̣νεχ̣[
μεν . [
τ̣ησδ̣[
ελ̣εγ̣[
τ[.]υ̣βα[. . .]εωσ[
τα̣[.]σε̣π̣ιστολ[
[. .]ετοβυβλ[
[. .]ττενβασιλ̣[

π᾽ Ἀρταξ̣[έρξ
τα ἡμέρα[ς
αὐτὸν α̣ Φρυ-
γίας ἐπια[
τὸν Τιθρ[αύστην Τισσα-
φέρνης [
πρᾶξιν α̣[οἰ-
κοδομε[ῖν
πόλεως . [
ὑπὸ τῶν [
. ε βαδ[ι
τῷ Τιθρα[ύστῃ
σ[.]αι παρα[
ἐπιστολὰ[ς
πρὸς τὴν α[
τιας κατα . [
. ε Μιλη[σι
ψας καὶ τα . [κα-
τῆρεν εἰς [
Ἀριαῖον ε[με-
τὰ δὲ ταῦ[τα
διατρίβω[ν
ἱμάτια τ[
νον συναρ[πα
καὶ μεταπ[
[. .]λοι . ν ιπ[π
συνεχ[
μεν . [
της δ[
ἔλεγ[ε
τ̣ο]ῦ βα[σιλ]έως [
τα[ῖ]ς ἐπιστολ[αῖς
[. .]ε τὸ βυβλ[ίον
[. .]ττεν βασιλ[ε

[. .]α̣υτονανα̣[
[. .] . . . ειvεκ . [
[.]λ̣ληναναγ̣[
[. .]νβαρβαρω̣[

Col. ix (=C Col. i with Frs. 8 and 9).

15 lines lost
]να̣[.
]καγ̣α
]λ̣εμον
] . ι̣σωτη
]λ̣λη̣ναυ
. . .
(Fr. 8)]λει̣
]μφε
]τ̣ατο¯
]κο̣σ̣ι̣
. . .
(Fr. 9)]κ̣´
]α̣ρ̣α̣ν̣γι
]καταμα
]υ̣παραλα
]μακεδο
. . . .

Col. x (=C Col. ii with Fr. 10).

νοτη[.] . α̣σ̣[
αμαμ̣εν[.]ο̣υ̣ . [
αφθο[.]ω[. . .]σ̣ . [
μαδε̣[.]ε̣ν̣ε̣σ̣[
επιτη̣ . . ι̣μ̣α̣τ̣[
ηρημενον̣ϋπα̣ρ̣ξ̣ο̣[
δ̣ιεκει̣ν̣[. . .]η̣τ̣[.]σ̣ . [
[.]α̣λω̣ν̣ω̣ . [
[.]ερονπ̣ω̣[
καιβιαζ . [
χρονονμ̣[
πολλησδ̣υ̣ν̣α̣[
ομοι̣[.]να . [.]ο̣ι̣[.]α̣[
κωσ[.]ην . [.] . ε̣[
μασενηγ̣ε̣[
. τερουσελ̣[.]η̣[
η̣του[.]ε̣κτ̣[.]υ̣π̣[.]λ̣[. . . .]γ̣ι̣γνομ̣[
νοσδετην̣[.] . [.]χ̣[.]αν̣αριστατ[
κεχρημεν̣[. .]ο̣υγαρωσπερο̣[
ναστευοντω[.]ωρμησεν . [
γ̣ασκαιδη̣[. .]τ̣ικ̣ωτ . [.] . σ̣τ̣[
μεταπεμπο[.]ενοσεκ[
κεναιτι̣δο̣κ̣[.]υ̣ντασδ[
τωνπλε̣ισ[. .]ν̣χ[
[. . . .] . [. .]ε̣[. . .]τ̣[
. . . . . .
(Fr. 10) [.]ω̣σ̣[

[. .] αὐτὸν ἀνα[
40 [. .] . . . ειν εκ . [
[ἄ]λλην ἀναγ[
[τῶ]ν βαρβάρω[ν
Some columns lost.

Col. ix.

15 lines lost

IX]να[.
]καγα-
πό]λεμον
] . ισωτη
20]λλην αὐ-
. . .
]λει
]μφε-
]τατον
]κοσι-
. . .
25] καὶ
π]αραγγει-
] καταμα-
]υ παραλα-
] Μακεδο-
. . . .

Col. x.

νοτη[.] . ασ[
ἅμα μὲν [.]ου . [
ἀφθό[ν]ω[ς . .]σ . [ἄ-
μα δὲ [.]ενεσ[
5 ἐπὶ τη . . ιματ[
ηρημένον ὑπαρξο[
δι' ἐκειν[. . .]ητ[.]σ . [
[.]αλων ω . [
[τ]ερον πω[
10 καὶ βιαζ . [
χρόνον μ[
πολλῆς δυνα[
ὁμοι[.]ν α . [.]οι[.]α[
κως [.]ην . [.] . ε[
15 μασενηγε[
. τέρους ελ[.]η[
ἢ τοὺ[ς] ἐκ τ[ο]ῦ π[.]λ[. . . .] γιγνομ[ένους
νος δὲ τὴν [.] . [.]χ[ί]αν ἄριστα τ[
κεχρημέν[ος,] οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ο[ί . . . . . .τῶν δυ-
20 ναστευόντω[ν] ὥρμησεν . [
γας καὶ δη[μο]τικωτ . [.] . στ[
μεταπεμπό[μ]ενος εκ[
κέναι τι δοκ[ο]ῦντας δ[
τῶν πλείσ[τω]ν χ[
25 [. . . .] . [. .]ε[. . .]τ[
. . . . . .
[.]ωσ[

ηλωσεν[
δοξαν[
κεδα[
των[
πασα[
των[
. .

Fragments probably belonging to Col. x.

Fr. 11.

. . . . .
]ην[
]καιδει[
] . [.]υτω[
] . . μι[
]ατεδ[
] . [.]ελ[
]εο[
]ανεκε[
]αλλωνβαρβαρω[
] . [.]αλλατηνμε[
] . [.]τουδεβιον . ιρ . [.]τ[
]σπερι πολλην στ . . . σι
]τηγαγεναντιωνηγα[
]σεποιησεκατακει[
]λλαισκατασκευα[
]περιδετηντου[

Fr. 12.

. . . .
] . . . [
] . δεπροσ[
]ωνειλη[
] . τελευ[
]τωνπαρεκειν[
]αθαπεριμε . [
]νεπιτα[
]ιλαθε[
. . . .

Fr. 13.

. .
]θ . [
]υτον[
]εναυτ[
]αιρεισθ[
] . [. . . .]τ[
. . .

Fr. 14.

. .
]ων[
]ιακα[

Fr. 15.

. . .
]μ[
]σε[.]ιο . [

ηλωσεν [
δοξαν[*La-*
κεδα[ιμον
των[
πασα[
των[
. . .

Fragments probably belonging to Col. x.

Fr. 11.

. . . . .
]ην[
] καὶ δει[
] . [.]υτω[
] . . μι[
]ατεδ[
] . [.]ελ[
]εοτ[
]ανεκε[
τῶν] ἄλλων βαρβάρω[ν
] . [.] ἀλλὰ τὴν με[
] . [.]του δὲ βίον . ιρ . [.]τ[
]ς περὶ πολλὴν στ . . . σ[
κα]τήγαγεν ἀντὶ ὧν ηγα[
]ς ἐποίησε κατακει[
πο]λλαῖς κατασκευα[
] περὶ δὲ τὴν του[

Fr. 12.

. . . .
] . . . [
] . δὲ προστ[
]ων εἰλη[
] . τελευ[τ
]των παρ' ἐκειν[
]αθα περιμε . [
]ν ἐπιτα[
]ιλαθε[
. . . .

Fr. 13.

. . . .
]θ . [
]υτον[
]εν αὐτ[
]αιρεῖσθ[αι
] . [. . . .]τ[
. . . .

Fr. 14.

. . .
]ων[
]μακα[

Fr. 15.

. . .
]μ[
]σε[.]ιο[

]τιτ[ ]ασπολ[
]τιδα[ ] · [
. . . . .

Col. xi (=D Col. i). Plate V.

[. . . . .]σβο[. . . . .] . καθεκα
[. . . .]ημε[.]ανεξητ[. . . . . .]συντοισδ
[. . . .]εντωλιμεν[. . . . . .]νϊναμηρα
[. . . .]υντεσχειρουσ[. . . . . .]πολεμονβου
[. . . .]νοσδεπαρασκε[. . . . . .]τουσροδιουσ
[. . . .]δωσινεντοισο[. . . . . .]ταστηνικαυ
[. . . .]σεργοισεπιχειρε[. . . . . .]πασινεποι
[. . . .]οραντονεξετα[. . . . . .]κοσιλαβω⁻
[. . .]τριηρωνεξεπλευ[. . . . . .]λομενοσ
[. . .]αρειναιτηδιαφθο[. . . . . .]νϊερωνυμω
[. . .]αινεικοφημωπροσε[. . . . . .]ηθηναιτω⁻
[. . .]γματωνουσιναυτουπα[. . . . . .]εριμεινα⁻
[. . .]εκεινηντηνημεραν[. . . . . .]τονεξετα
[. . .]ντηϋστεραιατωνστρατι[. . . . . .]περειωθε
[. . .]τουσμεναυτωνπαρηγα[. . . . . .]σοπλοισεισ
[. .]νλιμεναι[.]νσδεμεικρον[. . . . . .]σαγοραστω⁻
[. .]ροδιωνοισυνειδοτεστηνπ[. . . . . .]σϋπελαβο⁻
[.]αιρονεγχειρεινειναιτοισεργ[. . . .]νελεγοντο
[. .]νεγχειριδιοισεισταγορανκαιδωριμαχοσ
[. .]εαυτωναναβασεπιτονλιθονουπερειωθεικη
[. .]ττεινοκηρυξανακραγωνωσηδυνατομεγιστο⁻
[.]ωμενωανδρεσεφηπολειταιεπιτουστυραννουσ
[. .]νταχιστηνοιδελοιποιβοησαντοσεκεινουτη⁻
[. .]ηθειανεισπηδησαντεσμετεγχειριδιωνεισταση
[.]δριατωναρχοντωναποκτεινουσιτουστεδιαγο
[. .]ιουσκαιτωναλλωνπολιτωνενδεκαδιαπραξα
[.]ενοιδεταυτασυνηγοντοπληθοστοτωνροδιων
[. .]σεκκλησιαναρτιδεσυνειλεγμενωναυτωνκονω⁻
ηκεπαλινεκκαυνουμετατωντριηρωνοιδετη⁻

]τιτ[ ]ας πολ[
]τιδα[ ] . [

. . . . . .

Some columns lost.

Col. xi. Plate V.

[. . . . .]ς βο[. . . . . .] . καθ' ἑκά- X. 1
[στην] ἡμέ[ρ]αν ἐξήτ[αζε τοὺς στρατιώτας] σὺν τοῖς ὅ- B. C. 395
[πλοις] ἐν τῷ λιμέν[ι, προφασιζόμενος μὲ]ν ἵνα μὴ ῥᾳ-
[θυμο]ῦντες χείρους [γένωνται πρὸς τὸν] πόλεμον, βου-
5 [λόμε]νος δὲ παρασκε[υάσας ἡσύχους] τοὺς Ῥοδίους
[ὅταν ἴ]δωσιν ἐν τοῖς ὅ[πλοις αὐτοὺς παρόν]τας τηνικαῦ-
[τα τοῖ]ς ἔργοις ἐπιχειρε[ῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήθη] πᾶσιν ἐποί-
[ησεν] ὁρᾶν τὸν ἐξεταμόν, αὐτὸς μὲν εἴ]κοσι λαβὼν
[τῶν] τριήρων ἐξέπλευ[σεν εἰς Καῦνον, βου]λόμενος
10 [μὴ π]αρεῖναι τῇ διαφθο[ρᾷ τῶν Διαγορείω]ν, Ἱερωνύμῳ 2
[δὲ κ]αὶ Νικοφήμῳ προσέ[ταξεν ἐπιμελ]ηθῆναι τῶν
[πρα]γμάτων οὗσιν αὐτοῦ πα[ρέδροις· οἳ π]εριμείναν-
[τες] ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, π[αρόντων ἐπὶ] τὸν ἐξετα-
[σμὸ]ν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν στρατι[ωτῶν καθά]περ εἰώθε-
15 [σαν,] τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν παρήγα[γον σὺν τοῖ]ς ὅπλοις εἰς
[τὸ]ν λιμένα, τ[ο]ὺς δὲ μικρὸν [ἀπὸ τῆ]ς ἀγορᾶς. τῶν
[δὲ] Ῥοδίων οἱ συνειδότες τὴν π[ρᾶξιν, ὡ]ς ὑπέλαβον
[κ]αιρὸν ἐγχειρεῖν εἶναι τοῖς ἔργ[οις, συ]νελέγοντο
[σὺ]ν ἐγχειριδίοις εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ Δωρίμαχος
20 [μ]έν ⟨τις⟩ αὐτῶν ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν λίθον οὗπερ εἰώθει κη-
[ρύ]ττειν ὁ κῆρυξ, ἀνακραγὼν ὡς ἠδύνατο μέγιστον,
[ἴ]ωμεν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔφη, πολῖται, ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράννους
[τὴ]ν ταχίστην. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ βοήσαντος ἐκείνου τὴν
[βο]ήθειαν εἰσπηδήσαντες μετ' ἐγχειριδίων εἰς τὰ συν-
25 [έ]δρια τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀποκτείνουσι τούς τε Διαγο-
[ρε]ίους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ἑνδεκα, διαπραξά-
[μ]ενοι δὲ ταῦτα συνῆγον τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τῶν Ῥοδίων
[εἰ]ς ἐκκλησίαν. ἄρτι δὲ συνειλεγμένων αὐτῶν Κόνων 3
ἦκε πάλιν ἐκ Καύνου μετὰ τῶν τριήρων· οἱ δὲ τὴν

ṣφαγηνεξεργασαμενοικαταλυσαντεστηνπαρουσα¯
πολειτειανκατεστησανδημοκρατιανκαιτωνπο
λειτωντινασολιγουσφυγαδασεποιησανημενου¯
επανασταsισηπεριτηνροδοντουτοτοτελοσελα
βεν βοιωτοιδεκαιφωκειστουτουτουθερουσεισ
πολεμονκατεστησανεγενοντοδετησεκθρασαυτοισ
[.]ιτιοιμαλιστατωνενταισθηβαιστινεσουγαρπολλοισ
[.]τεσινπροτερονετυχονεισστασιασμονοιβοιωτοι
προελθοντεσειχενδεταπραγματατοτεκα[. .]τη¯
βοιωτιανουτωσησανκατεστηκυϊαιβουλαιṭ[ ]ο

Col. xii (=D Col. ii). Plate V.

τετεττα[. . . . . .]κα̣σ̣τητωṇπολεωνωνου[. . . . .
τοισπολε[. . . . . .]νμετε̣χεινα[. . .]τ̣οισκεκ[. . . . .
πληθοστ[. . . . . .]τ̣ωντουτωνδ̣ετωνβουλω̣[. . . . .
μεροσεκασ[. . . . . .]αθημενηκαιπροβουλευ[. . . . .
περιτωνπ[. . . . .]τωνεισεφερενεισταστρε̣[. . . .
δεδοξενε[.]απ̣α̣σαισ̣τουτοκυριονεγινετοκ[. . . . .
ϊδιαδιετελουνουτωδιοικουμενοιτοδετω̣[. . . .
ωτωντουτονηντοντροπονσυντεταγμενοṇ[. . .
δεκαμερηδιṇρηνṭοπαντεσοιτηνχωρανοικουṇ[. . .
καιτουτωνε̣κα̣σ̣τονεναπαρειχετοβοιωταρχον[. . .
θηβαιοιμεντεττα̣ρασυνεβαλλοντοδυομενϋπε[. . .
πολεωσδυοδεϋπερπλαταιεωνκαισκωλουκαιε̣ρ̣[.]θρω̣[.
καισκα̣φωνκαιτωναλλωνχωριωντωνπροτερον
μενεκεινοισσυνπολειτευομενωντοτεδεσυντε
λουντωνειστασθηβασδυοδεπαρειχοντοβοιωταρχασ
ορχομενιοικαιϋσιαιοιδυοδεθε̣σπιεισ̣συνευτρησι
καιθισβαισεναδεταναγραιοικαιπαλινετεροναλιαρ
τιοικαιλεβαδεισκαικορωνεισονεπεμ̣πεκαταμε
ροσεκαστητωνπολεωντοναυτονδετροπονε
βαδιζενεξακραιφνιουκαικωπωνκαιχαιρωνειασ
ουτωμενουνεφερεταμερητουσαρχοντασπαρειχε
τοδεκαιβουλευτασεξηκοντακατατονβοιωταρχο¯

σφαγὴν ἐξεργασάμενοι καταλύσαντες τὴν παροῦσαν
πολιτείαν κατέστησαν δημοκρατίαν, καὶ τῶν πο-
λιτῶν τινας ὀλίγους φυγάδας ἐποίησαν. ἡ μὲν οὖν
ἐπανάστασις ἡ περὶ τὴν Ῥόδον τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἔλα-
βεν. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ καὶ Φωκεῖς τούτου τοῦ θέρους εἰς XI. 1
πόλεμον κατέστησαν. ἐγένοντο δὲ τῆς ἔχθρας αὐτοῖς
[α]ἴτιοι μάλιστα τῶν ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις τινές· οὐ γὰρ πολλοῖς
[ἔ]τεσιν πρότερον ἔτυχον εἰς στασιασμὸν οἱ Βοιωτοὶ
προελθόντες. εἶχεν δὲ τὰ πράγματα τότε κα[τὰ] τὴν 2
Βοιωτίαν οὕτως· ἦσαν καθεστηκυῖαι βουλαὶ τό-

Col. xii. Plate V.

τε τέτταρες παρ' ἑ]κάστῃ τῶν πόλεων, ὧν οὐ[χ ἅπασι
τοῖς πολ[ίταις ἐξ]ὴν μετέχειν ἀ[λλὰ] τοῖς κεκ[τημένοις
πλῆθός τ[ι χρημά]των, τούτων δὲ τῶν βουλῶ[ν κατὰ
μέρος ἑκάσ[τη προκ]αθημένη καὶ προβουλεύ[σασα
περὶ τῶν π[ραγμά]των εἰσέφερεν εἰς τὰς τρε[ῖς, ὅ τι 3
δ' ἔδοξεν ἑ[ν] ἁπάσαις τοῦτο κύριον ἐγίγνετο. κ[αὶ τὰ μὲν
ἴδια διετέλουν οὕτω διοικούμενοι, τὸ δὲ τῶ[ν Βοι-
ωτῶν τοῦτον ἦν τὸν τρόπον συντεταγμένον. [καθ' ἕν-
δεκα μέρη διῄρηντο πάντες οἱ τὴν χώραν οἰκοῦν[τες,
καὶ τούτων ἕκαστον ἕνα παρείχετο Βοιωτάρχην [ὧδε·
Θηβαῖοι μὲν τέτταρας ⟨σ⟩υνεβάλλοντο, δύο μὲν ὑπὲ[ρ τῆς
πόλεως, δύο δὲ ὑπὲρ Πλαταιέων καὶ Σκώλου καὶ Ἐρ[υ]θρῶ[ν
καὶ Σκαφῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων τῶν πρότερον
μὲν ἐκείνοις συμπολιτευομένων τότε δὲ συντε-
λούντων εἰς τὰς Θήβας. δύο δὲ παρείχοντο Βοιωτάρχας
Ὀρχομένιοι καὶ Τσιαῖοι, δύο δὲ Θεσπιεῖς σὺν Εὐτρήσει
καὶ Θίσβαις, ἕνα δὲ Ταναγραῖοι, καὶ πάλιν ἕτερον Ἁλιάρ-
τιοι καὶ Λεβαδεῖς καὶ Κορωνεῖς, ὃν ἔπεμπε κατὰ μέ-
ρος ἑκάστη τῶν πόλεων, τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἐ-
βάδιζεν ἐξ Ἀκραιφνίου καὶ Κωπῶν καὶ Χαιρωνείας.
οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἔφερε τὰ μέρη τοὺς ἄρχοντας· παρείχε- 4
το δὲ καὶ βουλευτὰς ἑξήκοντα κατὰ τὸν Βοιωτάρχην,

καιτουτοισαυτοιτακαθημερανανηλισκονεπετετα
κτοδεκαιστρατιαεκαστωμερειπεριχιλιουσμεν
λ
οπλειτασϊϊππεασδεεκατοναπωσδεδηλωσαικατα
τοναρχοντακαιτωνκοινωναπελαυονκαιτασε[.]σφο
ρασεποιουντοκαιδικασεπεμπονκαιμετειχοναπαν
τωνομοιωσκαιτωνκακωνκαιτωναγαθωντομεν
ουνεθνοσολονουτωσεπολειτευετοκαιτασυνεδρια
καιτακοινατωνβοιωτωνεντηκαδμειασυνεκα
θιζενενδεταισθηβαισετυχονοιβελτιστοικαιγνω
ριμωτατοιτωνπολειτωνωσπερκαιπροτερονειρη
καστασιαζοντεσπροσαλληλουσηγουντοδετουμε
ρουστουμενϊσμηνιασκα[.]αντιθεοσκαιανδροκλησ
τουδελεοντιαδησκαιασιασκαικορρανταδασεφρο
νουνδετωνπολειτευομενωνοιμενπεριτονλεοντι
αδηνταλακεδαιμονιων[.]ιδεπεριτονϊσμηνιαν
αιτιανμενειχοναττικιζεινεξωνπροθυμοιπροσ
τονδημονεγενοντοωσεφυγονουμηνεφρον

Col. xiii (= D Col. iii).

[. . . . .]τ̣ω[. .]θηναιωναλλει̣χ̣[. . . . . .
[. . . . .] . π̣[. . . . .]εσ̣χ̣ονεπειτου̣[. . . . . .
[. . . . .] . . . π̣ρ̣[. .]ρουντομαλλ[. . . . . .
[. . . .]ε̣σκακωσπ̣οιεινετοιμουσα̣[. . . . . .
[. .]ζειν̣διακε[.]μ̣ε̣νωνδετωνεν̣[. . . . . .
[.]α̣ιτησεταιρειασεκατ̣[. .]α̣σϊσχ̣[. . . . .]τ̣α
[. . .]οηλθονπολλοικαιτωνενταισ̣[. . . . .]α̣
[. .]ν̣βοιωτιανκα̣[.]μετε̣[.]χονεκ[. . . . . .]
[. . .]ωνεκεινοισεδυνα̣ντοδετ[. . . . . .]
[. . .]ρωπροτερονοιπε[.]ιτονϊσμη[. . . . .]ν
[. . .]ροκλειδηνκαιπαραυτοιστοι̣[. . . . .]α̣ι
[. . .]τηβο[. .]ητωνβοιωτωνεμπρ[. . . . .]π̣ρο
[. . .]νοιπ[.]ριτονα̣στιανκαιλεοντ[. . . . . .]
[. . .]νασυχνονκαιτηνπολινδιαπ̣[. . . . .]χ̣ον
[. .]ε̣γαρπολε̣μουντεσοιλακεδαιμ[. . . . .]α

καὶ τούτοις αὐτοὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀνήλισκον. ἐπετέτα-
κτο δὲ καὶ στρατιὰ ἑκάστῳ μέρει περὶ χιλίους μὲν
ὁπλίτας ἱππέας δὲ ἑκατόν· ἁπλῶς δὲ δηλῶσαι κατὰ
τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἀπέλαυον καὶ τὰς ε[ἰ]σφο-
ρὰς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ δικασ⟨τὰς⟩ ἔπεμπον καὶ μετεῖχον ἁπάν-
των ὁμοίως καὶ τῶν κακῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν. τὸ μὲν
οὖν ἔθνος ὅλον οὕτως ἐπολιτεύετο, καὶ τὰ συνέδρια
{καὶ} τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ συνεκά-
θιζεν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς Θήβαις ἔτυχον οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ γνω- XII. 1
ριμώτατοι τῶν πολιτῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἴρη-
κα, στασιάζοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἡγοῦντο δὲ τοῦ μέ-
ρους τοῦ μὲν Ἰσμηνίας κα[ὶ] Ἀντίθεος καὶ Ἀνδροκλ⟨είδα⟩ς
τοῦ δὲ Λεοντιάδης καὶ Ἀσίας καὶ Κορραντάδας, ἐφρό-
νουν δὲ τῶν πολιτευομένων οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Λεοντι-
άδην τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, [ο]ἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰσμηνίαν
αἰτίαν μὲν εἶχον Ἀττικίζειν ἐξ ὧν πρόθυμοι πρὸς
τὸν δῆμον ἐγένοντο ὡς ἔφυγ(ε)ν· οὐ μὴν ἐφρόν-

Col. xiii.

[τιζον] τῶ[ν Ἀ]θηναίων, ἀλλ' εἶχ[ον . . . . . .
[. . . . .] . π[. . . . .]εσχον ἐπεὶ τοὺ[ς . . . . . .
[. . . . .] . . . πρ[οη]ροῦντο μᾶλλ[ον . . . . . .
[. . . . .]ες κακῶς ποιεῖν ἑτοίμους α [. . . . . Ἀττι-
[κί]ζειν. διακε[ι]μένων δὲ τῶν ἐν [Θήβαις οὕτως 2
[κ]αὶ τῆς ἑταιρείας ἑκατ[έρ]ας ἰσχ[υούσης, ἔπει]τα
[πρ]οῆλθον πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς [πόλεσι κατ]ὰ
[τὴ]ν Βοιωτίαν κα[ὶ] μετέ[σ]χον ἑκ[ατέρου τῶν]
[μερ]ῶν ἐκείνοις. ἐδύναντο δὲ τ[ότε μὲν καὶ]
[μικ]ρῷ πρότερον οἱ πε[ρ]ὶ τὸν Ἰσμη[νίαν καὶ τὸ]ν
[Ἀνδ]ροκλείδαν καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῖ[ς Θηβαίοις κ]αὶ
[παρὰ] τῇ βο[υλ]ῇ τῶν Βοιωτῶν, ἔμπρ[οσθεν δὲ] προ-
[εἶχο]ν οἱ π[ε]ρὶ τὸν Ἀσ{τ}ίαν καὶ Λεοντ[ιάδην χρόνον]
[τι]νὰ συχνὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ π[. . . . .]χον.
[ὅτ]ε γὰρ πολεμοῦντες οἱ Λακεδαιμ[όνιοι τοῖς] Ἀ- 3

[. . .]αιοισενδεκελειαδιετρειβονκαισ . . [. .] . [.] . τ̣[.]ν
α̣[.]τωνσυμμαχωνπολυσυνειχονουτοιμ[.]λ
λονεδυναστευοντωνετ̣ερωναμαμεντωπλ̣[.]σι
ονειναιτουσλακε[.]αιμον[.]ουσαμαδετ̣ωπολλα̣[.]η̣ν
20 πολινευεργετε[.]σθαιδιαυτωνεπ[. . . . . .]θ̣η
βαιοιπολυπροσευδαιμονιανολο̣κ̣λ[. . . . . .]υ
θεωσωσοπολεμοστοισαθηναιοισ[. . . . . .]
τοισλακεδαιμονιοισαρξαμενωνγαραπ̣[. . .]ειν
τωναθηναιωντηβοιωτιασυνωκισθησαν̣[. .]σ̣αυ
25 τασοιτεξερυθρωνκαισκαφωνκαισκωλουκα[. .]λ̣ι
δ̣οσκαισχοινουκαιποτνιωνκαιπολλωνετερω̣ντοι
ουτωνχωριωνατειχοσουκεχονταδιπλασιασεποι
ησεντασθηβασουμηναλλαπολυγεβελτειονετιτη¯
πολινπραξαισυνεπεσενωστηνδεκελειανεπετει
30 χισαντοισαθηναιοισμετατωνλακεδ̣α̣ι̣μ̣[. . .]ω̣ν
τατεγαρανδραποδακαιταλοιπαπαντ̣[. . . . . .]ν
πολεμοναλισκομεναμικρουτιν[. . . . . .]υ̣πα̣ρ
ελαμβανονκαιτη̣νεκτησαττικη[. .]ατα[.]κ̣ευη¯
ατεπροσχωροικ̣α̣τοικουντεσαπασανμετεκομι
35 σανωσαυτουσαπ̣οτωνξυλωνκαιτουκεραμουτου
τωνοικιωναρξαμενοιτοτε̣δετωναθηναιωνη
χωραπολυτελεστατατησελλαδοσκατεσκευαστο
επεπονθειγαρμεικρ̣ακακωσενταισεμβολαισ
ταισεμπροσθενϋποτωνλακεδαιμονιωνϋποδετω¯
40 αθηναιωνουτωσεξησκητοκαιδιεπεπονητοκ̣α̣

Col. xiv (= D Col. iv).

[. . . .]ρ̣βολην . [. . . . . .]δενπα̣ραυτοισεπα[. .]
[. . . . .]ι̣κησει̣[. . . . . .]κοδομημενασηπα
[. . . .]ι̣σαλλοισ̣[. . . . . .][[. ι̣τ̣ο̣σ̣]]γαραυτωνάπα
[. . . .]νελλην[. . . . . .] . ελαμβανονειστου[.]
5 [. . . .]υ̣σαγρουσα̣[. . . . . .]υ̣νπραγματατακατ[.]
[. .]σθηβασκαιτ[. . . . . .]ουτωσοιδεπεριτονα[.]
δροκλειδανκα̣[. . . . . .]σπουδαζονεκπολε

[θην]αίοις ἐν Δεκελείᾳ διέτριβον καὶ σ . . [. .] . [.] . τ[ῶ]ν
α[ὐ]τῶν συμμάχων πολὺ συνεῖχον, οὗτοι μ[ᾶ]λ-
λον ἐδυνάστευον τῶν ἑτέρων ἅμα μὲν τῷ πλ[η]σί-
ον εἶναι τοὺς Λακε[δ]αιμον[ί]ους, ἅμα δὲ τῷ πολλὰ τ]ὴν
πόλιν εὐεργετε[ῖ]σθαι δι' αὐτῶν. ἐπ[έδοσαν δὲ οἱ] Θη-
βαῖοι πολὺ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ὁλόκλ[ηρον εὐ-
θέως ὡς ὁ πόλεμος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις [ἐνέστη καὶ]
τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις· ἀρξαμένων γὰρ ἀπ[ειλ]εῖν
τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ συνῳκίσθησαν [εἰ]ς αὐ-
τὰς οἵ τ' ἐξ Ἐρυθρῶν καὶ Σκαφῶν καὶ Σκώλου κα[ὶ Αὐ]λί-
δος καὶ Σχοίνου καὶ Ποτνιῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἑτέρων τοι-
ούτων χωρίων ἃ τεῖχος οὐκ ἔχοντα διπλασίας ἐποί-
ησεν τὰς Θήβας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πολύ γε βέλτιον ἔτι τὴν 4
πόλιν πρᾶξαι συνέπεσεν ὡς τὴν Δεκέλειαν ἐπετεί-
χισαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμ[ονί]ων·
τά τε γὰρ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντ[α (τὰ) κατὰ τὸ]ν
πόλεμον ἁλισκόμενα μικροῦ τιν[ος ἀργυρίο]υ παρ-
ελάμβανον, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆ[ς κ]ατα[σ]κευὴν
ἅτε πρόσχωροι κατοικοῦντες ἅπασαν μετεκόμι-
σαν ὡς αὐτούς, ἀπὸ τῶν ξύλων καὶ τοῦ κεράμου τοῦ
τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀρξάμενοι. τότε δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡ 5
χώρα πολυτελέστατα τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατεσκεύαστο·
ἐπεπόνθει γὰρ μικρὰ κακῶς ἐν ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς
ταῖς ἔμπροσθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν
Ἀθηναίων οὕτως ἐξήσκητο καὶ διεπεπόνητο κα-

Col. xiv.

[θ' ὑπε]ρβολὴν . [. . . . . .]δὲν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπα[. .]
[. . . . ο]ἰκήσει[ς . . . . . ᾠ]κοδομημένας ἢ πα-
[ρὰ το]ῖς ἄλλοις [. . . . . .] γὰρ αὐτῶν απα-
[. . . .]ν Ἕλλην[. . . . . .] . ελάμβανον εἰς τοὺ[ς]
[. . . .]υς ἀγροὺς α[. . . . . τὰ μὲν οὖν πράγματα τὰ κατ[ὰ]
[τὰ]ς Θήβας καὶ τ[ὴν Βοιωτίαν εἶχεν] οὕτως. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀ[ν]- XIII. 1
δροκλείδαν κα[ὶ τὸν Ἰσμηνίαν ἐ]σπούδαζον ἐκπολε-

μωσαιτοεθνοσ[. . . . .]ι̣μονιουσβουλομενοι
μενκαταλυσαιτ[. . . . .]νϊναμηδιαφθαρωσι¯
ὑπεκεινωνδια[. . . . .]ι̣ζοντασοιομενοιδε
ραδιωστουτοπ̣ρ̣[. . . . .]μβανοντεσβασιλ[.]α̣
χρηματαπ[.]ρεξε[. . . . .]παρατουβαρβαρουπ[.]μ̣
φθεισεπηγγε̣λλετο[. . . . .]σκαιτουσαργειου[.]κ́
τουσα[. .]ναιουσμεθε̣[. . . . .]πολεμουτουτουσγα̣ρ̣
εκθρουστοισλακεδαιμ[. . . . .]ντασαυτοισσυνπαρε
[. .]ευασετουσπολειτα̣σ̣[. .]ανοηθεντεσδεταυτα
περιτωνπραγματωνενομιζοναπομεντουφα
νερουχαλεπωσεχεινεπιτιθεσθαιτουτοισουδεποτε
γαρουτεθηβαιουσουτετουσαλλουσβοιωτουσπεισθη
σεσθαιπολεμεινλακεδαιμονιοισαρχουσιτησελλα
δοσεπιχιρουντεσ[.]ε̣διαταυτηστησαπατησπροαγει¯
ειστονπολεμοναυτουσανεπεισανανδραστινασφω
κεωνεμβαλειν̣ειστηνλοκρωντωνεσπεριωνκα
λουμενωνοισεγενετοτησεκθρασαιτιατοιαυτη
εστιτοισεθνεσιντουτοισαμφισβητησιμοσχωραπε
ριτονπαρνασσονπερ̣[.]ησκαιπροτερονποτεεπεπολε·
μηκασινηνπολλακισεπινεμουσινεκατεροιτωντε
φωκεωνκαιτωνλοκρωνοποτεροιδαντυχωσιναισθο
μενοιποτεετερουσσυνλεγεντεσπολλοιδιαρπαζουσι
ταπροβαταπροτερονμενουνπολλωντοιουτωναφε
κατερωνγεινομενωναειμεταδικησταπολλακαιλο
γωνδιελυοντοπροσαλληλουστοτεδετωνλοκρω¯
ανθαρπασαντωναν̣θωναπεβαλονπροβατωνευ
θυσοιφωκε[.]σπαροξυνοντωναυτουσεκεινωντων
ανδρωνο[. . . .]περιτονανδροκλειδανκαιτονϊσμη
νιανπαρεσκευασανειστηνλοκριδαμετατωνο
πλωνενεβαλονοιδελοκροιδηουμενηστησχωρασ
πεμψαντεσπρεσβειεισβοιωτουσκατηγοριανε
π̣ο̣[.]υ̣ντοτωνφ̣[.]κεωνκαιβοηθειν̣εκεινουσαυτοισ
[. . . .]υ̣νδιακειν[.]αιδεπροσαυτουσαειποτεφιλιωσ

μῶσαι τὸ ἔθνος [πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδα]ιμονίους, βουλόμενοι
μὲν καταλῦσαι τ[ὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶ]ν ἵνα μὴ διαφθαρῶσιν
ὑπ' ἐκείνων διὰ [τοὺς Λακων]ίζοντας, οἰόμενοι δὲ
ῥαδίως τοῦτο πρ[άξειν ὑπολα]μβάνοντες βασιλ[έ]α
χρήματα π[α]ρέξε[ιν, καθ' ἃ ὁ] παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου π[ε]μ-
φθεὶς ἐπηγγέλλετο, ⟨τοὺς δὲ⟩ [Κορινθίου]ς καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείου[ς] καὶ
τοὺς Ἀ[θη]ναίους μεθέ[ξειν τοῦ] πολέμου, τούτους γὰρ
ἐχθροὺς τοῖς Λακεδαιμ[ονίοις ὄ]ντας αὐτοῖς συμπαρ⟨α⟩-
[σκ]ευάσε⟨ιν⟩ τοὺς πολίτας. [δι]ανοηθέντες δὲ ταῦτα 2
περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐνόμιζον ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ φα-
νεροῦ χαλεπῶς ἔχειν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τούτοις, οὐδέποτε
γὰρ οὔτε Θηβαίους οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους Βοιωτοὺς πεισθή-
σεσθαι πολεμεῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἄρχουσι τῆς Ἑλλά-
δος. ἐπιχειροῦντες [δ]ὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς ἀπάτης προάγειν
εἰς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτούς, ἀνέπεισαν ἄνδρας τινὰς Φω-
κέων ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Λοκρῶν τῶν Ἐσπερίων κα-
λουμένων, οἷς ἐγένετο τῆς ἔχθρας αἰτία τοιαύτη·
ἔστι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τούτοις ἀμφισβητήσιμος χώρα πε- 3
ρὶ τὸν Παρνασσόν, περ[ὶ] ἧς καὶ πρότερόν ποτε πεπολε-
μήκασιν, ἣν πολλάκις ἐπινέμουσιν ἑκάτεροι τῶν τε
Φωκέων καὶ τῶν Λοκρῶν, ὁπότεροι δ' ἂν τύχωσιν αἰσθό-
μενοί ποτε ⟨τοὺς⟩ ἑτέρους συλλεγέντες πολλοὶ διαπάζουσι
τὰ πρόβατα. πρότερον μὲν οὖν πολλῶν τοιούτων ἀφ' ἑ-
κατέρων γιγνομένων ἀεὶ μετὰ δίκης τὰ πολλὰ καὶ λό-
γων διελύοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τότε δὲ τῶν Λοκρῶν
ἀνθαρπασάντων ἀνθ' ὧν ἀπέβαλον προβάτων εὐ-
θὺς οἱ Φωκε[ῖ]ς, παροξυνόντων αὐτοὺς ἐκείνων τῶν
ἀνδρῶν ο[ὓς οἱ] περὶ τὸν Ἀνδροκλείδαν καὶ τὸν Ἰσμη-
νίαν παρεσκεύασαν, εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα μετὰ τῶν ὅ-
πλων ἐνέβαλον. οἱ δὲ Λοκροὶ δῃουμένης τῆς χώρας 4
πέμψαντες πρέσβεις εἰς Βοιωτοὺς κατηγορίαν ἐ-
πο[ιο]ῦντο τῶν Φ[ω]κέων, καὶ βοηθειν ἐκείνους αὐτοῖς
[ἠξίο]υν· διάκειν[τ]αι δέ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀεί ποτε φιλίως.

Col. xv (=D Col. v).

[. . .]ασαντεσδετονκαιρονασμ̣[. . . . . .
[. . . . .]μηνιανκαιτονανδροκλε̣[. . . . . .
[. .]ω̣τουσβοηθειντοισλοκροισφω̣[. . . . . .
[.]ω̣ναυτοιστωνεκτωνθηβωντ[. . . . . .
[.]α̣λινανεχωρησανπρεσβεισδ̣[.] . . [. . . . . .
τ̣εσπροσλακεδαιμονιουσηξιουνεκ̣[. . . . . .
π̣ειν̣βοιωτοισειστηναυτωνβα̣δι̣ζ̣[. . . . . .
λεγειναυτουσνομισαντεσαπ̣ισ̣τα̣[. . . . . .
ουκει[[.]]ντουσβοιωτουσπολεμονεκ̣[. . . . . .
φωκεασαλλειτιαδικεισθαινομιζουσ[. . . . . .
βανειναραυτωνεντοισσυμμαχοισ[. . . . . .
ροξυνοντωναυτουστωνκαιτηναπ̣[. . . . . .
γματαυτασυστησαντωντουσμεν[. . . . . .
τωνλακεδαιμονιωναπρακτουσαπεστε[. . . . . .
ταοπλαλαβοντεσεβαδε[.]ζονεπιτουσφωκε̣[. . . . . .]
λοντεσδεδιαταχεωνειστηνφωκιδακα̣ι̣[. . . .]η
σαντεστηντετωνπαραποταμιωνχωρανκαιδαυ
λιωνκαιφανοτεωνεπεχειρησανταισπολεσιπροσβαλ
λειν̣καιδαυλιαμενπροσελθοντεσαπεχωρησαναυθισ
ουδενποιησαντεσαλλακαιπληγασολιγασλαβοντεσ
φανοτεωνδετοπροαστιονκατακρατοσειλονδια
πραξαμενοιδεταυταπροηλθονειστηνφωκιδακα
ταδραμοντεσδεμεροστιτουπεδιουπεριτηνελα
τειανκαιτουσπεδιεασκαιτουσταυτηκατοικουν
τασαπησανποιουμενωνδετηναποχωρησιν
αυτωνπροσπαρυηνπολινεδοξεναυτοισαποπειρα
σθαιτησπολεωσεστιδετοχωριονεπεικωσϊσχυρονπροσ
βαλοντεσδετοιστειχεσικαιπροθυμιασουδενελλι
ποντεσαλλομενουδενεπραξαναποβαλοντεσδε
τωνστρατιωτωνωσογδοηκονταπαλινανεχωρη
σανβοιωτοιμενο̣[.]ντοσαυτακακαποιησαντεσ[.]ουσ

Col. xv.

[ἁρπ]άσαντες δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἀσμ[ενέστατα οἱ περὶ
[τὸν Ἴσ]μηνίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀνδροκλε[ίδαν ἔπεισαν τοὺς
[Βοι]ωτοὺς βοηθεῖν τοῖς Λοκροῖς. Φω[κεῖς δέ, ἀγγελθέν-
[τ]ων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν τ[ότε μὲν ἐκ τῆς Λοκρίδος
[π]άλιν ἀνεχώρησαν, πρέσβεις δ[ὲ] . . [. . . . . πέμψαν-
τες πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἠξίουν ἐκ[είνους ἀπει-
πεῖν Βοιωτοῖς εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν βαδίζ[ειν. οἱ δὲ καίπερ
λέγειν αὐτοὺς νομίσαντες ἄπιστα [ὅμως πέμψαντες
οὐκ εἴων τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς πόλεμον ἐκ[φέρειν ἐπὶ τοὺς
Φωκέας, ἀλλ᾽ εἴ τι ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζουσ[ι δίκην λαμ-
βάνειν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις [ἐκέλευον. οἱ δέ, πα-
ροξυνόντων αὐτοὺς τῶν καὶ τὴν ἀπ[άτην καὶ τὰ πράγ-
ματα ταῦτα συστησάντων, τοὺς μὲν [πρέσβεις τοὺς
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπράκτους ἀπέστε[ιλαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ
τὰ ὅπλα λαβόντες ἐβάδ[ι]ζον ἐπὶ τοὺς Φωκέ[ας. ἐμβα]- 5
λόντες δὲ διὰ ταχέων εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα καὶ [πορθ]ήσαντες τήν τε τῶν Παραποταμίων χώραν καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Φανοτέων ἐπεχείρησαν ταῖς πόλεσι προσβάλλειν· καὶ Δαυλίᾳ μὲν προσελθόντες ἀπεχώρησαν αὖθις
οὐδὲν ποιήσαντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πληγὰς ὀλίγας λαβόντες, Φανοτέων δὲ τὸ προάστιον κατὰ κράτος εἷλον. διαπραξάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα προῆλθον εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, καταβραμόντες δὲ μέρος τι τοῦ πεδίου περὶ τὴν Ἐλάτειαν καὶ τοὺς Πεδιέας καὶ τοὺς ταύτῃ κατοικοῦντας ἀπῄεσαν. ποιουμένων δὲ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν αὐτῶν {προς} παρ᾽ Τ⟨άμ⟩πολιν ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τῆς πόλεως· ἔστι δὲ τὸ χωρίον ἐπ⟨ι⟩εικῶς ἰσχυρόν. προσβαλόντες δὲ τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ προθυμίας οὐδὲν ἐλλιπόντες ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἔπραξαν, ἀποβαλόντες δὲ
τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα πάλιν ἀνεχώρησαν. Βοιωτοὶ μὲν ο[ὖ]ν τοσαῦτα κακὰ ποιήσαντες [τ]οὺς

φωκε[.]σαπηλθονειστηνεαυτων κονωνδεπαρειλη

φο̣τ̣ο̣σηδηχειρικρατουστασναυσταστωνλακεδαι
μονιωνκαιτωνσυμμαχωνοσαφικετοναυαρχοσδια
δοχοστωπολλιδισυνπληρωσασεικοσιτωντριηρων
αναγομενοσεκτησροδουκατεπλευσενεισκαυνον
βουλομενοσδεσυμμειξαιτωφαρναβαζωκα[.]τω
τιθραυστηκαιχρηματαλαβεινανεβαινενεκτησ
καυνουπροσαυτουσετυγχανεδετοισστρατιω

Col. xvi (=D Col. vi).

ταισκατατουτοντονχρονονπροσοφειλομε
ε
νοσμισθοσπολλωνμηνωνμισθοδοτ[. .]ν̣τογαρυ
ποτωνστρατηγωνκακωσοποιεινε̣θ̣[. .]εστινα
ειτοισπολεμουσιϋπερβασιλεωσεπε[. . .]τατον
δεκελεικονπολεμονοποτεσυμμ[. . . .]λακεδαι
μονιοισανκομιδηφαυλωσκαιγλισχ[. .]σπαρει
χοντοχρηματακαιπολλακισανκα̣τ̣[.]λυθησαν
αιτωνσυμμαχωντρ[.]ηρεισειμηδιατηνκυρου
προθυμιαντουτωνδεβασιλευσαιτιοσεστιοσ
επειδανενστησηταιπολεμονκαταπεμψασ
καταρχασολιγαχρηματατοισαρχουσινολιγωρει
τονεπιλοιπονχρονονοιδετοισπραγμασινε
φεστωτεσουκεχοντεσαναλισκεινεκτωνϊδι
ω̣νπε[. . . .]σινενιοτεκαταλυομεν[.]στασαυτω¯
[. . . . .]ε̣ισταυταμενουνουτωσσυμβαινειν
ειωθετιθραυστησδεπαραγενομενουτουκο
νωνοσωσαυτονκαιλεγοντοσοτικινδυνευσεισυν
τριβηναιταπραγματαδιαχρηματωνενδεια¯
οιστουσϋπερβασιλεωσπολεμουντασουκευλο
γωσεχειναπαγορευ[.]ιναποστελλειτιναστωνμε
θαυτουβαρβαρωνϊναμισθονδωσιτοισστρατιω
ταισεχοντασαργυριουταλανταδιακοσιακαιει
κοσιεληφθηδετουτοαργυριονεκτησουσιαστησ
τισσαφερνουστιθραυστησμενουνετιπεριμει

Φωκέ[α]ς ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν. Κόνων δέ, παρειλη- XIV. 1
φότος ἤδη Χειρικράτους τὰς ναῦς τὰς τῶν Λακεδαι-
μονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, ὃς ἀφίκετο ναύαρχος διά-
δοχος τῷ Πόλλιδι, συμπληρώσας εἴκοσι τῶν τριήρων
ἀναγόμενος ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου κατέπλευσεν εἰς Καῦνον·
βουλόμενος δὲ συμμεῖξαι τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ κα[ὶ] τῷ
Τιθραύστῃ καὶ χρήματα λαβεῖν ἀνέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς
Καύνου πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐτύγχανε δὲ τοῖς στρατιώ- 2

Col. xvi.

ταις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον προσοφειλόμε-
νος μισθὸς πολλῶν μηνῶν· ἐμισθοδοτ[οῦ]ντο γὰρ ὑ-
πὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν κακῶς, ὃ ποιεῖν ἔθ[ος] ἐστὶν ἀ-
εὶ τοῖς πολεμοῦσιν ὑπὲρ βασιλέως, ἐπε[ὶ (καὶ) κα]τὰ τὸν
Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον, ὁπότε σύμμ[αχοι] Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι ἦσαν, κομιδῇ φαύλως καὶ γλίσχ[ρω]ς παρεί-
χοντο χρήματα, καὶ πολλάκις ἂν κατ[ε]λύθησαν
αἱ τῶν συμμάχων τρ[ι]ήρεις εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν Κύρου
προθυμίαν. τούτων δὲ βασιλεὺς αἴτιός ἐστιν, ὃς
ἐπειδὰν ἐνστήσηται πόλεμον καταπέμψας
κατ' ἀρχὰς ὀλίγα χρήματα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὀλιγωρεῖ
τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐ-
φεστῶτες οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀναλίσκειν ἐκ τῶν ἰδί-
ων πε[ριορῶ]σιν ἐνίοτε καταλυομέν[α]ς τὰς αὐτῶν
[δυνάμ]εις. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως συμβαίνειν 3
εἴωθε, Τιθραύστης δέ, παραγενομένου τοῦ Κό-
νωνος ὡς αὐτὸν καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι κινδυνεύσει συν-
τριβῆναι τὰ πράγματα διὰ χρημάτων ἔνδειαν
οἷς τοὺς ὑπὲρ βασιλέως πολεμοῦντας οὐκ εὐλό-
γως ἔχειν ἀπαγορεύ[ε]ιν, ἀποστέλλει τινὰς τῶν με-
θ' αὑτοῦ βαρβάρων ἵνα μισθὸν δῶσι τοῖς στρατιώ-
ταις ἔχοντας ἀργυρίου τάλαντα διακόσια καὶ εἴ-
κοσι· ἐλήφθη δὲ τοῦτο (τὸ) ἀργύριον ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τῆς
Τισσαφέρνους. Τιθραύστης μὲν οὖν ἔτι περιμεί-

νασολιγονχρονονενταισσαρδεσινανεβαινεν
ωσβασιλεακαταστησασστρατηγουσεπιτωνπρα
γματωναριαιονκαιπασιφερνηκαιπαραδουσαυτοισ
ειστονπολεμοντοκαταλειφθεναργυριονκαιχρυ
σιονοφασιφανηναιπεριεπτακοσιαταλαντατων
δεκυπριωνοιμετατουκονωνοσκαταπλευσαν
τεσειστηνκαυνοναναπεισθεντεσουτωτινω⁻
διαβαλλοντωνωσαυτοισμενουμελλουσιναπο
διδοναιτονμισθοντονοφειλομενονπαρασκευ
αζονταιδεδιαλυσ[. .]σμονοντα[.]συπηρεσιαισ
καιτοισεπιβαταισχαλεπωσεφερονκαισυνελθο⁻
τεσεισεκκλησιανειλοντοστρα[.]ηγοναυτων
ανδρακαρπασεατογενοσκαιτο[. .]ωφυλακην
εδοσαντουσωματοσδυοσ[. . . . .]ωτασαφεκαστησ

Col. xvii (=D Col. vii).

[. . . . . .]μ̣π[. . . . . .]ν̣
[. . . . . .]κ̣νᾳ . . [. .]τ̣ωνι̣[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . .]τονκονωνα[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . .]ωσετυγχανε . [. . . . .]υ̣σ[. . . . .]
[. . . . . .]ε̣ραιεικατελ̣[. . . . . .]ν̣ω̣νοσ . [. . .]
[. . . . . .]γ̣ετοπεριτω̣[. . .] . ω̣κονωνδεσ̣ . [. .]
[. . . . . .]υτωντ[. . . . .]υσουκειαπιστευει⁻
[. . . . . .]ε̣κλ̣[.]σ̣[. . . . .]ελληνωναλ[.]απαν
[. . . . . .]σ̣κομιεισθαιαυτην
[. . . . . .]ε̣φασκενβουλεσθαι
[.]μα[. . . . . .]ο̣ισο̣δεστρατηγοσοτω⁻
[.]υπρ[. . . . . .]σε[. . . . .]προστοπληθοστοτων
στρατιω̣[. . . . .]κ̣ολο̣[. . . . .]ειν[.]υδεσυνεξορμησαν
τ[.]σεπε[. . . . .]ε̣υομε̣ν[. . . .]τατα̣σπυλασησανομε⁻
κονων[. . . . .]ετυχενηγ̣[. .]μενοσεξεληλυθειπροτε
ροσεκτ[. .]τ̣ει̣χουστουδεα[. .]ρωπουτουκαρπασεωσωσ
ηνεξι[.]νκατατασπυλασεπιλαμβανονταιτωνμεσ
σηνιω[.]τινεστωνκονωνιπαρακολουθειν̣ειω

νας ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐν ταῖς Σάρδεσιν ἀνέβαινεν
ὡς βασιλέα, καταστήσας στρατηγοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων Ἀριαῖον καὶ Πασιφέρνη, καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτοῖς
εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον ὅ φασι φανῆναι περὶ ἑπτακόσια τάλαντα. τῶν XV. 1
δὲ Κυπρίων οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Κόνωνος καταπλεύσαντες εἰς τὴν Καῦνον, ἀναπεισθέντες {ο} ὑ(πό) τινων
διαβαλλόντων ὡς αὐτοῖς μὲν οὐ μέλλουσιν ἀποδιδόναι τὸν μισθὸν τὸν ὀφειλόμενον, παρασκευάζονται δὲ διαλύσ[ει]ς μόνον τα[ῖ]ς ὑπηρεσίαις
καὶ τοῖς ἐπιβάταις, χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, καὶ συνελθόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν εἵλοντο στρα[τ]ηγὸν αὑτῶν
ἄνδρα Καρπασέα τὸ γένος, καὶ το[ύτ]ῳ φυλακὴν
ἔδοσαν τοῦ σώματος δύο σ[τρατι]ώτας ἀφ' ἑκάστης

Col. xvii.

[νεὼς . . . . . .]ιπ[. . . . . .]ν
[. . . . . .]κνα . . [. .]των[. . . . . .]
[. . . . . .] τὸν Κόνωνα [. . . . . .]
[. . . . . .] ὡς ἐτύγχανε . [. . . . .]υσ[. . . . .]
[. . . . . .]εραιει κατελ[. . . . . Κό]νωνος . [. . .]
[. . . . . .]γετο περὶ τῶ[ν . .] . ων. Κόνων δὲ σ . [. .] 2
[. . . . ἀκούσας α]ὐτῶν τ[οὺς λόγο]υς οὐκ εἴα πιστεύειν
[. . . . . .]εκλ[.]σ[. . . τῶν] Ἑλλήνων, ἀλ[λ]ὰ πάν-
[τας . . . . . .]ς κομιεῖσθαι, ταύτην
[δὲ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ποιησάμενος] ἔφασκεν βούλεσθαι
[δ]ια[δηλῶσαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλ]οις, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς ὁ τῶν
[Κ]υπρ[ίων ὁ Καρπα]σε[ὺς αὐτῷ] πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τῶν
στρατιω[τῶν ἡ]κολο[ύθει. ἐκ]είν[ο]υ δὲ συνεξορμήσαν- 3
τ[ο]ς, ἐπε[ιδὴ πορ]ευόμεν[οι κα]τὰ τὰς πύλας ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν
Κόνων [ὥσπερ] ἔτυχεν ἡγ[ού]μενος ἐξεληλύθει πρότερος ἐκ τ[οῦ] τείχους, τοῦ δὲ ἀ[νθ]ρώπου τοῦ Καρπασέως, ὡς
ἦν ἐξι[ὼ]ν κατὰ τὰς πύλας, ἐπιλαμβάνονται τῶν Μεσσηνίω[ν] τινὲς τῶν Κόνωνι παρακολουθεῖν εἰω-

θοτων[. .]μετατησεκειν̣ου̣γ̣[.]μ̣ησεπιθυμουντεσε̣¯
τηπολε̣[.]κατασχειναυτονοπ[. .]ανωνεξημαρτεν
δωδικ[.]̣νοιδεσυνακολουθο[. . .]ε̣στωνκυπριωναν
τελαμ[.]αν̣[.]ντο̣ι̣[. . . . . .]ω̣̣σκαιδιεκωλυοντουσ
μεσση̣[. . . .]αγει[. . . . . .]ι̣σθανομενονδεκαιτο
τωνεξ̣[. . . .]ι̣ων[. . . . . .]εβοηθειτωστρατηγωο[.]ε̣
κονων[. . . .]π̣ε̣[. . . . . .]του[.]ανθρωπουσεισπη
δησασ[. . . . . .]υσεν[.]ι̣στηνπολινοιδεκυ
πριοιτ̣[. . . . . .]σ̣αψ[.]μενουστουκα[. .
πασεω[. . .]λλ[. . . . . .]υσαναυτοιδεπεπεισμ[. .
νοιπανταπ̣[. . . . . .]ο̣νκονωναπ̣α̣ρε
σκευασθαιπερ̣[. . . . . .]διαδοσινε[. . .]β̣[. .
νονε[.]σταστρ[. . .]εισεπ̣[. . . . . .]αισπραξεσινω̣σ̣γε
τινε̣ς̣ελεγον[. .]ε̣λλον[. . . . . .]τησροδουπαρα̣λα
βοι̣[. . .]σεισκυπρονπλε[. . . . . .]ευσαντεσδετησα
λα̣ν̣[. .]ν̣ιοιουκαιπαρακ̣[. . . . . .]τεστουσβουλομε
[. . . . . .]υπριωνβαδι[. . . . . .]προστηνακροπο
[. . . . . .]ναρχηντ[. . . . . .]καταλυσωσιωσ
[. . . . . .]νουπα̣ν̣[. . . . . .]νκακω̣νομοι
[. . . . . .]οιησ̣[. . . . . .]ναυτοισεισ
[. . . . . .]εσια̣[. . . . . .]τωνλ̣ογων
[. . . . . .]ν̣[.]τ̣ην

Col. xviii (= D Col. viii).

πολιντ̣η[. . . . . .]ποπλευσα¯
τεσαποτησ . [. . . . . .]β̣[. . .]μενοι
χρησασθαιτοισαυτ̣[. . . . . .]τριηρωνκο
νωνδεκατηγμε[. . . . . .]ελθωνπροσ
λεωνυμοντοντ[. . . . . .]π[.]ναυτωο
τιμονοσδυναται̣τ[. . . . . .]τ[. . .]σιλεωσει
γαραυτωβουλεταιδ[. . . . . .]υρουστουσ̣[. .]
ληνασοιτηνκαυνο[. . . . . .]τωνκαρων
ωσπλειστουσπαυσει[. . . . . .]ρατοπεδωτα
ραχηνκελευσαντοσδ[. . . . . .]ουλαμβανει¯

θότων [οὐ] μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνου γν[ώ]μης, ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐν
τῇ πόλε[ι] κατασχεῖν αὐτὸν ὅπ[ως] ἂν ὧν ἐξήμαρτεν
δῷ δίκ[η]ν. οἱ δὲ συνακολουθο[ῦντ]ες τῶν Κυπρίων ἀν-
τελαμ[β]άν[ο]ντο τ[οῦ Καρπασέ]ως καὶ διεκώλυον τοὺς
Μεσση[νίους] ἄγει[ν αὐτόν, α]ἰσθανόμενον δὲ καὶ τὸ
τῶν ἑξ[ακοσ]ίων [σύνταγμα?] ἐβοήθει τῷ στρατηγῷ. ὁ [δ]ὲ
Κόνων [ὡς . . .]πε[. . . . .] τοὺ[ς] ἀνθρώπους εἰσπη-
δήσας [. . . . . .]υσεν [ε]ἰς τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δὲ Κύ-
πριοι τ[οὺς Μεσσηνίους τοὺ]ς ἀψαμένους τοῦ Κα[ρ-
πασέως] βά[λλ]οντες ἀπέκρο[υσαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πεπεισμ[έ-
νοι πάντα π[. . . . . τ]ὸν Κόνωνα παρε-
σκευάσθαι περ[ὶ τὴν τοῦ μισθοῦ] διάδοσιν ε[ἰσέ]β[αι-
νον ε[ἰ]ς τὰς τρ[ιήρ]εις ἐπ[ὶ ταύταις τ]αῖς πράξεσιν, ὥς γέ
τινες ἔλεγον, [μ]έλλον[τες τοὺς ἐκ] τῆς Ῥόδου παραλα-
βόν[τε]ς εἰς Κύπρον πλε[ῖν. ἀποπλ]εύσαντες δὲ τῆς Ἀ- 4
λαν[. .]νιοιου καὶ παρακ[ομίσαν]τες τοὺς βουλομέ-
[νους τῶν Κ]υπρίων, βαδί[ζουσιν] πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπο-
[λιν ἵνα τὴ]ν ἀρχὴν τ[οῦ Κόνωνος] καταλύσωσιν ὡς
[αἰτίου γενομέ]νου πάν[των αὐτοῖς τῶ]ν κακῶν, ὁμοί-
[ως δὲ . . . . . π]οιησ[. . . . .]ν αὐτοῖς εἰς
[. . . . . ὑπηρ]εσία[. . . . .] τῶν λόγων
[. . . . .]ν[.] τὴν

Col. xviii.

πόλιν τη[. . . . . ἀ]ποπλεύσαν-
τες ἀπὸ τῆς . [. . . . .] β[ουλό]μενοι
χρήσασθαι τοῖς αὐτ[όθι . . . . . τῶν] τριήρων. Κό- 5
νων δὲ κατηγμέ[νων τῶν Κυπρίων] ἐλθὼν πρὸς
Λεώνυμον τὸν τ[. . . . . εἶ]π[ε]ν αὐτῷ ὅ-
τι μόνος δύναται τ[ὰ πράγματα σῶσαι] τ[ὰ βα]σιλέως, εἰ
γὰρ αὐτῷ βούλεται δ[ιδόναι τοὺς φρο]υροὺς τοὺς [Ἕλ]-
ληνας οἳ τὴν Καῦνον [φυλάττουσι καὶ] τῶν Καρῶν
ὡς πλείστους, παύσει[ν τὴν ἐν τῷ στ]ρατοπέδῳ τα-
ραχήν. κελεύσαντος δ[ὲ τοῦ Λεωνύμ]ου λαμβάνειν

οποσουσβουλεταιστρατ[. . . . . .]ηνμεντην
ημεραναπαρηκενκαιγαρ̣η̣[. . . . . .]δ̣ηπεριδυσμασ
εισδετηνεπιουσανπρινημ[. . . . .]ε̣νεσθαιλαβων
παρατουλεωνυμουτωντε[. . . . .]συχνουσκαιτους
15 ελληνασαπαντασεξηγαγεν[. . . .]υ̣σεκτησπολεως
επειτατουσμε̣ν̣[. .]ωθεναυτουτουστρατοπεδουπε[.]
ριεστησεντους̣[. . . . .] . [. . . . .]μ̣προστετασναυσκα[.]
τοναιγιαλον[. . . . . .]υ̣ταδεποησασκαικελευ
σασκηρυξαιτ[. . . . . .]μ̣εινεκαστοντωνστρα
20 τιωτωνεπιτη̣[. . . . . .]μ̣ελαβετωνκυπριων
τοντεκαρπασε̣[. . . . . .]λωνεξηκοντακαιτους
μεναπεκτειν[. . . . . .]τηγοναν̄εσταυρωσε¯
ακουσαντεσδ[. . . . . .]ικαταλειφθε̣ντεσεντη
ροδωηγανακτ[. . . . . .]ω̣σενεγκοντεστουσμ΄
25 αρχονταστους[. . . . . .]νοσκατασταντασβαλ
λοντεσεξηλασ̣[. . . . . .]στρατοπεδουτονδελιμε
νακαταλιπον[. . . . . .]θορυβονκαιταραχηνπαρ
[.]σχοντοισροδ̣[. . . . . .]νωναφικομενοσεκτησ
[.]αυνουτουσ̣τ̣[. . . . . .]ασαυτωνσυλλαβωναπεκτει
30 νεκαιτοισαλλ[. . . . . .]μ̣νδιεδωκετομενουνβασι
λικονστρατο[. . . . . .]ωσεισμεγανκινδυνον
προελθονδιακονων[. . .]τηνεκεινουπροθυμιαν
επαυσατοτησταραχη[. .]γησιλαοσδεπαρα[.]ορευ
>—
ομ[. .]οσειστονελλησπ[.]μ̣τοναματωστρατ[.]υμα
35 τ̣[. . . .]ακεδαιμονιωνκ[.]ιτωνσυμμαχωνοσονμ΄
χ̣[. . . .]νεβαδειζεδιατη[.]λυδιασ[.]υδενκακονεποι
[. . . . .]ενοικουντασβ[. . .]ομενοσεμμ[. .]ειναισσπον
[.]α̣ι̣[. .]αισπροστιθραν[. .]η̣νγενομ[. . . .]επειδηδεκα
[.]η̣ρενειστηνχ̣[. . . .]τηνφαρν[. . .]ζουπροηγετο

Col. xix (= D Col. ix).

στρατ[.]υμαλε̣η̣λατωνκαιπορθωντη[. . . . . .
δεπαρ̣αλλαξα[. .]οτεθηβη̣σπεδιονκαιτ̣[. . . . . .
καλουμενονε̣[. .]ε̣βαλεν̣ειστηνμυσια[. . . . . .

ὁπόσους βούλεται στρατ[ιώτας, ταύτ]ην μὲν τὴν
ἡμέραν παρῆκεν, καὶ γὰρ ἥ[λιος ἦν ἤ]δη περὶ δυσμάς,
εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν πρὶν ἡμ[έραν γ]ενέσθαι λαβὼν
παρὰ τοῦ Λεωνύμου τῶν τε [Καρῶν] συχνοὺς καὶ τοὺς
15 Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας ἐξήγαγεν [αὐτο]ὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως·
ἔπειτα τοὺς μὲν [ἔξ]ωθεν αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πε-
ριέστησεν, τοὺς [δὲ . . .] . [. . . . .]ν πρός τε τὰς ναῦς κα[ὶ
τὸν αἰγιαλὸν [. . . . . τα]ῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ κελεύ-
σας κηρῦξαι τ[. . . . . βαί]νειν ἕκαστον τῶν στρα-
20 τιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὴ[ν . . . . . , συ]νέλαβε τῶν Κυπρίων
τόν τε Καρπασέ[α καὶ τῶν ἄλ]λων ἑξήκοντα, καὶ τοὺς
μὲν ἀπέκτειν[ε, τὸν δὲ στρα]τηγὸν ἀνεσταύρωσεν.
ἀκούσαντες δ[ὲ τὰ γενόμενα ο]ἱ καταλειφθέντες ἐν τῇ 6
Ῥόδῳ ἡγανάκτ[ουν, καὶ βαρέ]ως ἐνεγκόντες τοὺς μὲν
25 ἄρχοντας τοὺς [ὑπὸ τοῦ Κόνω]νος καταστάντας βάλ-
λοντες ἐξήλασ[αν ἐκ τοῦ] στρατοπέδου, τὸν δὲ λιμέ-
να καταλιπόν[τες πολὺν] θόρυβον καὶ ταραχὴν παρ-
[έ]σχον τοῖς Ῥοδ[ίοις. ὁ δὲ Κό]νων ἀφικόμενος ἐκ τῆς
Καύνου τούς τ[ε ἄρχοντ]ας αὐτῶν συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτει-
30 νε, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλ[οις μισθὸ]ν διέδωκε. τὸ μὲν οὖν βασι-
λικὸν στρατό[πεδον οὕτ]ως εἰς μέγαν κίνδυνον
προελθὸν διὰ Κόνων[α καὶ] τὴν ἐκείνου προθυμίαν
ἐπαύσατο τῆς ταραχῆ[ς. Ἀ]γησίλαος δὲ παρα[π]ορευ- XVI. 1
όμ[εν]ος εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσπ[ο]ντον ἅμα τῷ στρατ[ε]ύμα-
35 τ[ι τῶν Λ]ακεδαιμονίων κ[α]ὶ τῶν συμμάχων, ὅσον μὲν
χ[ρόνο]ν ἐβάδιζε διὰ τῆ[ς] Λυδίας, [ο]ὐδὲν κακὸν ἐποί-
[ει τοὺς] ἐνοικοῦντας, β[ουλ]όμενος ἐμμ[έν]ειν ταῖς σπον-
[δ]αῖ[ς τ]αῖς πρὸς Τιθραύ[στ]ην γενομ[έναις·] ἐπειδὴ δὲ κα-
[τ]ῆρεν εἰς τὴν χ[ώραν] τὴν Φαρν[αβά]ζου προῆγε τὸ

Col. xix.

στράτ[ε]υμα λεηλατῶν καὶ πορθῶν τὴ[ν γῆν. εἶτα
δὲ παραλλάξα[ς τ]ό τε Θήβης πεδίον καὶ τ[ὸ Ἀπίας
καλούμενον ε[ἰσ]έβαλεν εἰς τὴν Μυσία[ν, καὶ ἐνέκει-

τοτοισμυσο[.]σκελε̣ι̣ν̣[.]ν̣αυτουσσυστρ[. . . . . .
ταυτωνεισιγαροιπο̣λ̣[.]ο̣ι[.]ωνμυσωναυ[. . . . . .
βασιλεωσουχυπακουον[.]εσοσοιμενουν̣[. . . . . .
σωνμετεχεινηρουντοτησστρατειας[. . . . . .
ποιεικακοναυτουστωνδελοιπωνεδ̣η[. . . . . .
ρανεπειδηδεπροϊωνεγενετοκαταμεσο[. . . . .
σταχ̣[.]νολυμποντονμυσιονκαλουμεν[. . . . . .
χαλ[.]π̣η̣ν̣κ̣αιστενηνουσαντηνδιοδον[. . . . . .
λομ[. . .]ασφ̣α̣[. .]σπορευθηναιδιαυτησπεμ[. . .
τινα[. . .]στ[. . . .]υσουσκαισπεισαμενοσπροσ̣α̣[. .
τουση[. . . . .]σ̣[. . . .]ε̣υμαδιατησχωρασπαρεν̣τ̣[.]σ
δεπ̣ο̣[. . . . . .]ε[.]οπονησιωνκαιτωνσυμ[.]α
χ[. . . . . .]οιστελευταιοισαυτωνκαταβαλ
λ[. . . . . .]ω̣νστρατιωτωνατακτωνδι̣α̣τασ
σ̣τ̣[. . . . . .]ωναγησιλαοσδεκαταζευξασ
τ[. . . . . .]υτηντηνημερανησυχιαν̣
η̣[. . . . . .]μ̣[. .]ομενατοισαποθανουσιδιε
φθαρη[. . .]δ̣ε̣περιπ̣ε̣ντηκοντατωνστρατιωτων
εισδεχ̣[. .]ε̣πιουσα̣ν̣καθισασεισενεδρανπολλουσ
τωνμ[. . .]ορωντωνδερκυλιδειωνκαλουμενω⁻
ανασχ̣[. . .]ο̣ηγετοστρατευμαπαλιντωνδεμυσω⁻
οιηθ[. . . . .]καστοιδιατηνπληγηντηντηπρο
τερα[. . . . .]μενηναπιεναιτοναγησιλαοσεξελ
θοντ̣[. . . .]ω̣νκωμωνεδιωκονωσεπιθησομενοι
τοισ̣τ̣[. . .]τ̣α̣ιοιστοναυτοντροπονοιδετωνελλη
νωνε̣ν̣[. . . .]ονεσωσησανκαταυτουσεκπηδη
σαντεσε̣[. .]η̣σενεδρασεισχειρασησεαντοισπολε
μιοιστωνδ̣εμυσωνοιμενηγουμενοικαιπρω
τοιδιωκο[.]τεσεξαιφνηστοισελλησισυμμειξαν
τεσαποθ̣[.]η̣σκουσιοιδεπολλοικατιδοντεστουσπρω
τουσα[. .]νενπληγαισοντασεφευγονπροστασκω
μασαγ[. . .]αοσδεπροσαγγελθεντωναυτωτουτω⁻
μετα[. . . . .]νοσαπηγετοστρατευμαπαλιντην
αυτην[. . . . .]ωσσυνεμειξετοισεντα[.]σενεδραισ

το τοῖς Μυσο[ῖ]ς κελεύ[ω]ν αὐτοὺς συστρ[ατεύειν με-
τ' αὐτῶν. εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ πολ[λ]οὶ [τ]ῶν Μυσῶν αὐ[τόνομ
βασιλέως οὐχ ὑπακούον[τ]ες. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν [τῶν Μυ-
σῶν μετέχειν ἠροῦντο τῆς στρατείας [οὐδὲν ἐ-
ποίει κακὸν αὐτούς, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἐδῄ[ου τὴν χώ-
ραν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ προϊὼν ἐγένετο κατὰ μέσο[ν μάλι- 2
στα τ[ὸ]ν Ὄλυμπον τὸν Μύσιον καλούμεν[ον, ὁρῶν
χαλ[ε]πὴν καὶ στενὴν οὖσαν τὴν δίοδον [καὶ βου-
λόμ[ενος] ἀσφα[λῶ]ς πορευθῆναι δι' αὐτῆς, πέμ[ψας
τινὰ [πρὸ]ς τ[οὺς Μ]υσοὺς καὶ σπεισάμενος πρὸς α[ὐ-
τοὺς ἦ[γε τὸ] σ[τράτ]ευμα διὰ τῆς χώρας. παρέντ[ε]ς
δὲ πο[λλοὺς τῶν Π]ε[λ]οποννησίων καὶ τῶν συμ[μ]ά-
χ[ων, ἐπιθέμενοι τ]οῖς τελευταίοις αὐτῶν καταβάλ-
λ[ουσί τινας τ]ῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀτάκτων διὰ τὰς
στ[ενοχωρίας ὄντ]ων. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ καταζεύξας
τ[ὸ στράτευμα τα]ύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἡσυχίαν
ἦ[γε ποιῶν τὰ νο]μ[ιζ]όμενα τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσι· διε-
φθάρη[σαν] δὲ περὶ πεντήκοντα τῶν στρατιωτῶν·
εἰς δὲ τ[ὴν] ἐπιοῦσαν καθίσας εἰς ἐνέδραν πολλοὺς
τῶν μ[ισθοφ]όρων τῶν Δερκυλιδείων καλουμένων
ἀνασ[τὰς πρ]οῆγε τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν. τῶν δὲ Μυσῶν
οἰηθ[έντες ἕ]καστοι διὰ τὴν πληγὴν τὴν τῇ προ-
τέρᾳ [γεγενη]μένην ἀπιέναι τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐξελ-
θόντ[ες ἐκ τ]ῶν κωμῶν ἐδίωκον, ὡς ἐπιθησόμενοι
τοῖς τ[ελευ]ταίοις τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλή-
νων ἐν[εδρεύ]οντες, ὡς ἦσαν κατ' αὐτούς, ἐκπηδή-
σαντες ἐ[κ τ]ῆς ἐνέδρας εἰς χεῖρας ἦεσαν τοῖς πολε-
μίοις. τῶν δὲ Μυσῶν οἱ μὲν ἡγούμενοι καὶ πρῶ-
τοι διώκο[ν]τες ἐξαίφνης τοῖς Ἕλλησι συμμείξαν-
τες ἀποθ[ν]ῄσκουσιν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ κατιδόντες τοὺς πρώ-
τους α[ὐτῶ]ν ἐν πληγαῖς ὄντας ἔφευγον πρὸς τὰς κώ-
μας. Ἀγ[ησίλ]αος δὲ προσαγγελθέντων αὐτῷ τούτων
μετα[βαλόμε]νος ἀπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν τὴν
αὐτὴν [ὁδὸν ἕ]ως συνέμειξε τοῖς ἐν τα[ῖ]ς ἐνέδραις,

καικα[. . . . .]νωσενειστοστρατοπεδονηκαιτη
προτερα[.]ατεστρατοπεδευσανμεταδεταυτατω¯

Col. xx (= D Col. x).

μενμυσωνησαν[. . . . . .
ρυκασπεμψαντεσα[. . . . . .
τοτουσνεκρουσϋ[. . . . . .
ητριακοντακαιε[. . . . . .
κωμωντινασκαθ[. . . . . .
ημεραστουσστρ[. . . . . .]τοπροσθεν[.
στρατευμακαικα[. .]βιβασασ[. . . . .]νχωραντωνφ[.]υ
γωνουκεισ[.]ντουπρ̣οτερου[. . .]ουσενεβαλεναλ
[. .]ισε[. .]ραν[.]πορ[.]ητονκα[. .]σαυτηνεποιεισπι
[. .]αδατη[. . .]ωνηγεμονα[. . . .]ονϋονοδεσπιθρα
δα[.]ηστομενγενοσηνπερ[. . . .]ατρειβω[.]δεπαρα
τωφαρναβαζωκαιθεραπευων[. . . .]νεπει[. . . . . .]εκ
θρανκατασταστασπροσαυτονφοβηθεισμη[. . .]αλη̣φθη
καικακοντιπαθηπαραυτικαμε[.]απε[. . . . . .
εισκυζικονϋστερονδ[.]ωσαγη[.]ι[. . .]νη[. . . .]γω¯
[. .]γαβατηνϋοννεοντακαικαλοναγησιλαοσδε
τουτωνγενομενωνανελαβεναυτουσμαλιστα
μενενεκατουμειρακιουλεγεταιγαρεπιθυμητι
κωσαυτουσφοδραεχεινεπειταδεκαιδιασπιθριδα
τ[. .]ηγεμονατετησστρατιασαυτοισεσεσθαικ′
[. . . .]αλλαχρησιμονεκεινουσμενουντ[.]υ
τ[. .]ενεκαϋπεδεξατ[.]προθυμωσαυτοσδεπρο
αγωνειστοπροσθεναειτοστρατευμακαιλεηλα
τωντηντουφαρναβαζουχωραναφικνειται
προσχωριονοκαλειταιλεοντωνκεφαλαικ′
ποιησαμενοσπροσαυτοπροσβολασωσουδεν
επεραινεναστησαστοστρατευμ[.]προηγεν
ειστοπροσθεπορθωνκαιλεηλατωντη[.]χωραστην
ακεραιοναφικομενοσδεπαλινπροσγορδειονχω
ριονεπιχωματοσωκοδομημενονκαικατε

καὶ κα[τεσκή]νωσεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ᾗ καὶ τῇ
προτέρᾳ [κ]ατεστρατοπέδευσαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν 3

Col. xx.

μὲν Μυσῶν ὧν ἦσαν [οἱ ἀποθανόντες ἕκαστοι κή-
ρυκας πέμψαντες α[. . . . . ἀνείλον-
το τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑ[ποσπόνδους· ἀπέθανον δὲ πλείους
ἢ τριάκοντα καὶ ἑ[κατόν· Ἀγησίλαος δὲ λαβὼν ἐκ τῶν
κωμῶν τινας καθ[ηγεμόνας καὶ ἀναπαύσας . . . .
ἡμέρας τοὺς στρ[ατιώτας ἦγεν εἰς] τὸ πρόσθεν τ[ὸ
στράτευμα, καὶ κα[τα]βιβάσας [εἰς τὴ]ν χώραν τῶν Φ[ρ]υ-
γῶν, οὐκ εἰς [ἣ]ν τοῦ προτέρου [θέρ]ους ἐνέβαλεν ἀλ-
[λ' ε]ἰς ἑ[τέ]ραν [ἀ]πόρ[θ]ητον, κα[κῶ]ς αὐτὴν ἐποίει, Σπι-
[θρ]αδάτη[ν ἔχ]ων ἡγεμόνα [καὶ τ]ὸν υἱόν. ὁ δὲ Σπιθρα- 4
δά[τ]ης τὸ μὲν γένος ἦν Πέρ[σης, δι]ατρίβω[ν] δὲ παρὰ
τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ καὶ θεραπεύων [αὐτό]ν, ἔπει[τα δὲ εἰς] ἔχ-
θραν καταστὰς πρὸς αὐτόν, φοβηθεὶς μὴ [κατ]αληφθῇ
καὶ κακόν τι πάθῃ, παραυτίκα μὲ[ν] ἀπέ[φυγεν
εἰς Κύζικον, ὕστερον δ[ὲ] ὡς Ἀγη[σ]ί[λαο]ν ἦ[κεν ἄ]γων
[Με]γαβάτην υἱὸν νέον ὄντα καὶ καλόν. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ
τούτων γενομένων ἀνέλαβεν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα
μὲν ἕνεκα τοῦ μειρακίου, λέγεται γὰρ ἐπιθυμητι-
κῶς αὐτοῦ σφόδρα ἔχειν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ διὰ Σπιθραδά-
τ[ην,] ἡγεμόνα τε τῆς στρατιᾶς ⟨ἡγούμενος⟩ αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι καὶ
[πρὸς] ἄλλα χρήσιμον. ἐκείνους μὲν οὖν τ[ο]ύ- 5
τ[ων] ἕνεκα ὑπεδέξατ[ο] προθύμως, αὐτὸς δὲ προ-
άγων εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἀεὶ τὸ στράτευμα καὶ λεηλα-
τῶν τὴν τοῦ Φαρναβάζου χώραν ἀφικνεῖται
πρὸς χωρίον ὃ καλεῖται Λεόντων Κεφαλαί. καὶ
ποιησάμενος πρὸς αὐτὸ προσβολάς, ὡς οὐδὲν
ἐπέραινεν, ἀναστήσας τὸ στράτευμ[α] προῆγεν
εἰς τὸ πρόσθε⟨ν⟩ πορθῶν καὶ λεηλατῶν τῆ[ς] χώρας τὴν
ἀκέραιον. ἀφικόμενος δὲ πάλιν πρὸς Γόρδιον, χω- 6
ρίον ἐπὶ χώματος ᾠκοδομημένον καὶ κατε-

σκευασμενονκακωσκαικαταζ̣ευξαστοστ[.]ατευμα
περιεμενενὲ̣ξημερασπρ[.]σ̣μεντουσπο[.]εμιουσ
προσβολασποιουμενοστουσδεστρατιωτασε̣[. . .]ολ
λοισαγαθοισσυνεχωνεπειδηδεβιασασθαιτοχωρι
ονουκηδυνατοδιατηνραθανουπροθυμιανοσε
πηρχεναυτουπήγησωντογενοσαναστησασηγε¯
ανωτουσσ̣τρατιωτασκελευοντοστουσπιθρι
δατουεισπαφλαγονιανπορευεσθαιμεταδεταυ
ταπροαγωντουσπελοποννησιουσκαιτουσσυμμ̣α

Col. xxi (=D Col. xi).

χουσπ̣̣[. . . . . .]γ̣ιασκαιτησπαφλαγον[.
ασεκε[. . . . . .]τρατοπεδευσετονδεσπ[.
θριδατη[. . . . . .]νοδεπορευθεισκαιπει[.
σασεκει[. . . . . .]αγωναγησιλαοσδεποιη[.
σαμεν[.]σ̣[. . . . . .]νπαφλαγονωναπηγα̣[.
διαταχ̣[. . . . . .]αλαττανφοβουμενοσμ̣[.
χειμωνι̣[. . . . . .]ωσιεποιειτοδετηνπορε̣[.
ανουκετ[. . . . . .]π̣ερηλθ̣εαλλετερανηγο̣[.
μενοσδια[. . . . . .]δ̣̣ιεξ̣ι̣ο̣[. . . . .]π̣ωτερωσ̣ε̣[.
σεσθαιτοισσ̣[. . . . . .]τειλε[. .] . ι̣τ[. .]ρ̣[.]ν̣[. . .
αυτωγυνηστο[. . . . . .]ν̣τ . . των̣[. . . . . .
ϊππεασμ̣[. . . . . .]ουσπεξ̣ουσδεπλειου[. . . . .]λ̣[.
ωνκαταγ̣[. . . . . .]ατευμακατακιοντησμυσιασ[.
[. . .]τ̣ονμ̣[. . . . . .]ασημερασαυτουδεκακακωσε[.
ποιε[.]τουσμυσο[. . . .]ι̣νανθωνεπεβουλευσαναυτωπε[.
ριτονολυμπον[. .]τερονδεπροηγετουσελληνασδιατη̣[.
φρυγιαστησπαρ[. . .]λαττιδιουκαιπροσβαλωνπροσχ[.
ωσ
ριοντοκαλουμ[. .]ο̣νμειλητουτειχοσουκηδυνατο[.
λαβειναπηγε[. .]υ̣σστρατιωτασποιουμενοσδετην[.
πορειανπαρατονρυνδακονποταμοναφ[.]κνειται[.
π[.]οστηνδασκυλειτινλιμνηνϋφηκειται[.]δακυλειο[.
χ̣ωριονοχυρονσφοδρακαικατεσκευασμ[.]νονϋπο[.
βασιλεωσουκαιτονφαρναβαζονελεγονα[.]γυριονο[.

σκευασμένον κα⟨λ⟩ῶς, καὶ καταζεύξας τὸ στ[ρ]άτευμα
περιέμενεν ἓξ ἡμέρας, πρ[ὸ]ς μὲν τοὺς πο[λ]εμίους
προσβολὰς ποιούμενος, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἐ[πὶ π]ολ-
λοῖς ἀγαθοῖς συνέχων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ βιάσασθαι τὸ χωρί-
35 ον οὐκ ἠδύνατο διὰ τὴν Ῥαθάνου προθυμίαν, ὃς ἐ-
πῆρχεν αὐτοῦ Π⟨έρσ⟩ης ὢν τὸ γένος, ἀναστήσας ἦγεν
ἄνω τοὺς στρατιώτας, κελεύοντος τοῦ Σπιθρα-
δάτου εἰς Παφλαγονίαν πορεύεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦ- XVII. 1
τα προάγων τοὺς Πελοποννησίους καὶ τοὺς συμμά-

Col. xxi.

χους π[ρὸς τὰ ὅρια τῆς Φρυ]γίας καὶ τῆς Παφλαγον[ί-
ας ἐκε[ῖ τὸ στράτευμα κατεσ]τρατοπέδευσε, τὸν δὲ Σπ[ι-
θραδάτη[ν αὐτὸν προέπεμψε]ν· ὁ δὲ πορευθεὶς καὶ πεί-
σας ἐκεί[νους ἦκε πρέσβεις] ἄγων. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ποιη- 2
5 σάμεν[ο]ς [σύμμαχα τὰ τῶ]ν Παφλαγόνων ἀπήγα[γε
διὰ ταχ[έων τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ θ]άλατταν, φοβούμενος μ[ὴ
χειμῶν[ος τῆς τροφῆς ἐνδέ]ωσιν. ἐποιεῖτο δὲ τὴν πορε[ί-
αν οὐκέτ[ι τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἥν]περ ἦλθεν ἀλλ' ἑτέραν, ἡγο[ύ-
μενος διὰ [τῆς Βιϐυνίδος] διεξιο[ῦσι ἀκο]πωτέρως ἔ-
10 σεσθαι τοῖς σ[τρατιώταις. ἀπέσ]τειλε [δὲ] . ιτ[. .]ρ[.]υ[. . .
αὐτῷ Γύης το[. . . . . .]ντ . . των[. . . . . .
ἱππέας μ[ὲν . . . . . ἱ]ους, πεζοὺς δὲ πλείου[ς δισχι]λ[ί-
ων. καταγ[αγὼν δὲ τὸ στρ]άτευμα κατὰ Κίον τῆς Μυσίας, 3
[πρῶ]τον μ[ὲν περιμείν]ας ἡμέρας αὐτοῦ δέκα κακῶς ἐ-
15 ποίε[ι] τοὺς Μυσο[ὺς πάλ]ιν ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ πε-
ρὶ τὸν Ὄλυμπον, [ὕσ]τερον δὲ προῆγε τοὺς Ἕλληνας διὰ τῆ[ς
Φρυγίας τῆς παρ[αθα]λαττιδίου, καὶ προσβαλὼν πρὸς χ[ω-
ρίον τὸ καλούμ[εν]ον Μιλήτου Τεῖχος, ὡς οὐκ ἠδύνατο
λαβεῖν, ἀπῆγε [το]ὺς στρατιώτας. ποιούμενος δὲ τὴν
20 πορείαν παρὰ τὸν Ῥύνδακον ποταμὸν ἀφ[ι]κνεῖται
π[ρ]ὸς τὴν Δασκυλῖτιν λίμνην ὑφ' ᾗ κεῖται τ[ὸ] Δα(σ)κύλ:ο[ν,
χωρίον ὀχυρὸν σφόδρα καὶ κατεσκευασμ[έ]νον ὑπὸ
βασιλέως, οὗ καὶ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἔλεγον ἀ[ρ]γύριον ὅ[σον

ηναυτωκαιχρυσιοναποτιθεσθαικατεστρατοπ[. .
δευκωσδετουσστρατιωτασεκειθιμετεπεμπετοπα[.
καλονοσεπιβατηστωναναρχωχειρικρατειπεπλευκω[.
επεμελειτοτουελλησποντουπεντετριηρεισεχων[
[. . . . .]ενομενουδετουπαγκαλουδιαταχεωνκαι
[. . . . . .]ρεσινεισπλευσαντοσειστηνλιμηνεκει
[. . . . . .]εκελευσενοαγησιλαοσενθεμενονοσατων[.
[. . . . . .]ενωνηπλειονοσαξιαδιαγαγεινειστ[.]ον[.
[. . . . . .]ικυζικονοπωσαναπαυτωνμισθοστω[.]τ[. .
τουσ
[. . . . . .]γενοιτοτουσδεστρατιωτασαποτησμ[.]σια[. .
[. . . . . .]οσταξασαυτοισηκεινειστοεαρπαρα[. .]ευα[
[. . . . . .]ονεπιονταχιμωναβαδιζεινεισκαππα
[. . . . . .]ωνταυτηντηνχωρανδιατεινειναωσ
[. . . . . .]νστενηναρξαμενηναποτησπολτικησ
[. . . . . .]εχρικιλικιασκ[. .]φοινεικησκαιτ[.]μηκοσ
[. . . . . .]αιτοσουτο[. . . .]τετουσεκσινωπ[.]σβαδι

Unplaced Fragments.

Fr. 16 (to Cols. i or ii?).

. .
] . [
]γλ[
]τ[
. .

Fr. 17 (to Col. iv?).

]σσαφ[
]αμο[
]φερ[
. .

Fr. 18 (to Col. iv?).

]μιωσ[
]γαρπρ[
]δονκ[
]αζοι[
]ιετ[
. .

Fr. 19 (to Col. iv?).

. . .
]στυρα[
]απασι[
]αντατ[
] . μων[
]ωμενω[
]μετευ[

Fr. 20 (to Col. iv?).

. . .
]τονδ[
] . ωνετ . [
]τοτασπ[
]ωναλλ[
]νορων[
]λυσαν[

Fr. 21 (to Col. vii?).

. .
]αι . [
]ργισμε[
]ν . . [
. .

ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ χρυσίον ἀποτίθεσθαι. κατεστρατοπ[ε- 4
δευκὼς δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκεῖθι μετεπέμπετο Πά[γ-
καλον, ὃς ἐπιβάτης τῷ ναυάρχῳ Χειρικράτει πεπλευκὼ[ς
ἐπεμελεῖτο τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου πέντε τριήρεις ἔχων.
[παραγ]ενομένου δὲ τοῦ Παγκάλου διὰ ταχέων καὶ
[ταῖς τρ]ι[ήρ]εσιν εἰσπλεύσαντος εἰς τὴν λίμνην, ἐκεῖ-
[νον μὲν] ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐνθέμενον ὅσα τῶν
[. . . . . μ]ένων ἢ⟨ν⟩ πλείονος ἄξια διαγαγεῖν εἰς τ[.]ον[.
[. . . . περ]ὶ Κύζικον, ὅπως {αν} ἀπ' αὐτῶν μισθὸς τῷ [σ]τ[ρα-
[τεύματι] γένοιτο. τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Μ[υ]σία[ς ἀ-
[πέλυσε πρ]οστάξας αὐτοῖς ἥκειν εἰς τὸ ἔαρ. παρα[σκ]ευα-
[ζόμενος τ]ὸν ἐπιόντα χειμῶνα βαδίζειν εἰς Καππα-
[δοκίαν, ἀκού]ων ταύτην τὴν χώραν διατείνειν ὥσ-
[περ ταινία]ν στενὴν ἀρξαμένην ἀπὸ τῆς Ποντικῆς
[θαλάττης μ]έχρι Κιλικίας κ[αὶ] Φοινίκης, καὶ τ[ὸ] μῆκος
[αὐτῆς εἶν]αι τοσοῦτο[ν ὥσ]τε τοὺς ἐκ Σινώπ[η]ς βαδι(ζοντας)

Unplaced Fragments.

Fr. 17 (to Col. iv?).

Τι]σσαφ[ερν
]αμο[
Τισσα]φερ̣[ν
. . . .

Fr. 18 (to Col. iv?).

]μιωσ[
] γὰρ πρ[
]δον κ[
β]ιαζοι[
]ιετ[
. . . . .

Fr. 19 (to Col. iv?).

. . . . . .
]ς τυρα[ιν
]απασι[
]ανταται[
] . μων[
]ωμενω̣[
]μετευ̣

Fr. 20 (to Col. iv?).

. . . . . .
]τον δ[
] . ων ετ . [
]το τὰς π[
]ων ἀλλ[
]νορωνι[
]λυσαιν[

Fr. 21 (to Col. vii?).

. . . .
]αι[
ὠ]ργισμέ̣[ν
]υ . . [
. . . . .

] . υ̣ο̣ν̣δ̣εκαι̣[
] . . . α̣ρχε[
] . ποσου[
]τ̣ουμ̣[
]σ̣θεν̣[
] . ω̣νο̣[
]α̣φυ̣[
. .

] . ο̣υντα[
]ατατην̣[
]η̣νειωθ[
]ο̣ικαιον̣[
]σαρχελ[
] . α̣λ̣με[
] . [
. . .

Fr. 22 (to Cols. vii or viii ?).

. .
]τ̣α̣κ̣α̣[
]α̣φα[
]με[
. .

Fr. 23 (to Col. x ?).

]εστιν̣[
] . ο̣μ̣ . [
. . .

Fr. 24 (to Col. x ?).

. .
π̣[
τ[
. .

Fr. 25 (to Col. x ?).

. .
ι̣[
γ̣[
τ[
. .

Fr. 26 (to Cols. xvii or xviii ?).

. .
]ει[
. . .

Fr. 27 (to Cols. xvii or xviii ?).

. .
]τ̣εσ̣[
. .

Fr. 28 (to Cols. xvii or xviii ?).

. .
]τα̣[
]τ̣[
. .

Fr. 29.

. .
]ν̣τη . [
]υτακ̣[
]φικν[
]μ[
. .

Fr. 30.

. . .
] . α̣[
]αυτο[
]ο̣εντα . [
. . .

Fr. 31.

. . . .
] . [
] . τησσιι[
]κατεσχ̣[
]εωσαπ̣[
]τ̣ουσστ[
. . . .

Fr. 32.

. .
τ[
ομ . [
[.]τα[
. .

Fr. 33.

. . .
]α̣σ̣[
]κ̣α[.]ων̣[

Fr. 34.

. .
]ν̣ε̣[
]να[

Fr. 35.

. .
] . . [
]ν[

Fr. 36.

. .
]αμενπ̣[
]α̣βεινη̣[

] . νον δὲ καί[
] . . . Ἀρχε[λαΐδ ?
] . ποσου[
]τουμ[
]σθεν[
] . ωνα[
]αφυ[
. . . . .

] . ουντα[
]ατα τὴν [
]ην εἰωθ[
]οι καὶ ον[
τῆ]ς Ἀρχελ[αΐδος ?
] . αλμε[
] . [
. . . . .

Fr. 23 (to Col. x ?).

] ἐστιν [
] . ομ . [
. . .

Fr. 29.

. . . . .
]ν τη . [
]υτακ[
ἀ]φικν[
]μ[
. . . . .

Fr. 30.

. . . . .
] . α[
]αυτο[
]ο ἐντα . [
. . . .

Fr. 31.

] . [
] . της σιν[
] κατεσχ[
]εως απ[
] τοὺς στ[
. . . .

Fr. 33.

. . . . .
]ασ[
]κα[.]ων[

Fr. 36.

. . . .
]α μὲν π[
λ]αβεῖν η[

]αρεικο̣[
]ο̣ν̣βα̣σι̣λ̣[
]σα . φο̣[
]τ̣ρατο[
] . χρω̣μ̣[
] . . [.]κ̣α̣[
. . .

]τ . [
]ν̣τ[
]β̣ . [
. .

]ν̣β̣[
] . [
]ι̣ε̣[
]λα[
. .

]ξ̣ιοντω̣[
]ν̣ηνϋ̈στ[
]ρ̣μω . [
. .

Fr. 37.

. .
]τ̣α̣[
]εσυ̣[
]τ̣υν[
]ει̣α̣[
. .

Fr. 38.

] . π̣[
]κα[
]τ̣[
. .

Fr. 39.

. .
]ο̣ι̣[
]τε[
]κτ[
. .

Fr. 40.

. .
] . [
]ι̣α[
]ηλ[
]ει̣δ̣[
. .

Fr. 41.

. .
] . [
]ο̣ . [
]υ̣τ̣[
. .

Fr. 42.

. .
] . [
]σπολ[
]λλι̣[
] . [
. .

Fr. 43.

. .
]υν . [
]ιοι̣[
. .

Fr. 44.

. .
]μενη[

Fr. 45.

. .
] . α̣[
]σκ . [
]ή̣ε[
] . [
. .

Fr. 46.

. .
]προσα̣[
]ν . . . [
. .

Fr. 47.

. .
]γ[
]ε̣γ[
]π̣[
. .

Fr. 48.

. .
] . ι̣ο̣[
]ιμ[
. .

Fr. 49.

. .
] . . [
]υσα[
. .

Fr. 50.

. .
] . [
] . ο̣ι̣[
]σ̣ι̣[
. .

Fr. 51.

. .
]ρ̣ο̣σ̣ . [
]κ̣ελ[
. .

Fr. 52.

. .
]εμ
. .

Fr. 53.

. .
]ι̣ε̣
. .

Fr. 54.

. .
]π̣εδι[
. .

Fr. 55.

. .
]τ̣[
]η̄[

Fr. 56.

. .
]σιν[
] . α̣[
. .

]αρ εἰκο[
]ον βασιλ[ε
]σα . φο[
σ]τρατο[
] . χρωμ[
] . . [.] κα[
. . . .

δι̣ε]ξιόντω[ν
]νην ὑστ[ερ
]ρμω . [
. . . .

Fr. 57.

. .
]τ̣[
]ο̣π̣[
. .

Fr. 58.

. .
]θ . [
. .

Fr. 59.

. .
]μ̣[
. .

Fr. 60.

. .
] . [
]ι̣[
. .

Fr. 61.

. .
]ο̣σ̣[
]τ[

Fr. 62.

. .
]γοισ̣[
]α̣ι[
. .

Fr. 63.

. .
]ν̣α̣[
]ι̣γ̣[
. .

Fr. 64.

. .
] . σι̣
. .

Fr. 65.

. .
α̣[
. [
. .

Fr. 66.

. .
]ιδ̣[
]ρω[
. .

Fr. 67.

. . .
]τ̣ο̣[
]χ . ·. [
. . .

Fr. 68.

. . . .
] . ι̣[. .] . [
]οιπα[
. . . .

Fr. 69.

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] . [
]ο . [
] . [
] . [
. .

Fr. 70.

. . .
] . π̣ . [
] . [
. . .

Fr. 71.

. . .
]. [. . . .
]ασοι̣[. .
]γενημε
]τοισμε̣¯
]ιαναγει¯
]επεμπε¯
]α̣κασειρ̣α̣
]ηδεπα[.]
]ε̣τοτ[. .
. . .

Fr. 72.

. .
] . . [. .
]υ̣ . . ν
]μμ
] . ε
] . ων
]
]σθε
. .

Cols. i. 1–iii. 7 = chs. I–III.

Expedition of Demaenetus. Anti-Spartan feeling in Greece.

'About the same time a trireme sailed out from Athens without the consent of the people. Demaenetus, the . . . of it, had privately imparted his plan in secret to the boule, as it is said, and some of the citizens having conspired with him, he went down with them to the Piraeus, and having launched a ship at the docks set sail to join Conon. Thereupon an uproar was raised, and the notables and cultivated class among the Athenians were indignant, declaring that it would give the city a bad name if they began a war with the Lacedaemonians. The bouleutai, frightened by the clamour, held a meeting of the people, pretending to have had no share in the enterprise. The populace having assembled,

Fr. 71.

. . . .
]·[. . . .
]ασου[. .
γε]γενημέ-
]τοις μὲν
]ιαν ἄγειν
] ἔπεμπεν
]ακας εἰσα-
]η δὲ πα[.]
]ετοτ[. .
. . . .

the party at Athens of Thrasybulus, Aesimus, and Anytus came forward and pointed out that the Athenians were incurring great risks unless they relieved the state from the responsibility. The moderate and wealthy class at Athens was content with the present policy, while the populace and democratic party on that occasion, through fear, yielded to their advisers, and sent to Milon, the harmost of Aegina, to inform him that he could punish Demaenetus since the latter had acted without the leave of the state. But previously for nearly the whole time their policy was aggressive, and in frequent opposition to the Lacedaemonians. Not only were they in the habit of dispatching both arms and sailors for Conon's fleet, but on a former occasion . . . crates, Hagnias, and Telesegorus with their companions were dispatched on an embassy to the king, the ambassadors being captured

by Pharax, the former admiral, and sent as prisoners to the Lacedaemonians, who put them to death. This opposition was stimulated by the party of Epicrates and Cephalus; for it was they who were most anxious to involve Athens in war, holding that view not merely since they had dealings with Timocrates and received the gold, but long before. It is nevertheless asserted by some that Timocrates' bribes were responsible for the formation of the war party at Athens and among the Boeotians and in the other states which I have mentioned, owing to ignorance of the circumstance that all of them had long adopted a hostile attitude towards the Lacedaemonians, and been on the watch for an opportunity to involve the states in war. For the Lacedaemonians were hated by the Argive and Boeotian factions for being on friendly terms with the opposing party of the citizens, and by the faction at Athens because it desired to put an end to the existing tranquillity and peace, and to lead the Athenians on to a policy of war and interference, in order that it might be enabled to make a profit from the state funds. At Corinth, of the partisans of a change of policy the majority were hostile to the Lacedaemonians for reasons similar to those of the Argives and Boeotians, while Timolaus alone had become opposed to them on account of private grounds of complaint, although he was formerly on the best of terms with them and a strong philo-Laconian, as can be ascertained from the events of the Decelean war. On one occasion, with a squadron of five ships, he plundered several of the islands tributary to the Athenians, and on another, having sailed to Amphipolis with two triremes, and manned four more supplied from there, he defeated Sichius (?), the Athenian general, in a sea-fight, as I have previously related, and captured the enemy's triremes, which were five in number, together with a convoy of 30 (?) boats; subsequently with [.] triremes he sailed to Thasos and caused the island to revolt from the Athenians. Parties, therefore, in the aforesaid states had been induced to hate the Lacedaemonians far more by these reasons than by Pharnabazus and the gold. When Milon, the harmost of Aegina, heard the news brought by the Athenians, he quickly manned a trireme and pursued Demaenetus. The latter at this time happened to be waiting off Thoricus in Attica, but when Milon arrived at Thoricus and tried to attack him he hastened to sail far in advance. Having gained possession of a ship belonging to them he left his own ship behind because the hull was inferior, and transferring his sailors to the other ship continued his voyage to Conon's fleet, while Milon . . . with the trireme returned to Aegina.'

i. 1. A new book apparently begins here (cf. p. 115); and it is quite uncertain with what events our author synchronizes the expedition of Demaenetus, which took place in the first half of 396 if Cols. i–iv are correctly placed (cf. iii. 9, note), or in the early summer of 395 if Cols. i–iv follow Cols. v–viii, as is much less probable.

2. For [οὐ μετά cf. l. 24. ἦ]ν or ἦ[ρχε may be substituted for ἱ[δίᾳ, which was suggested by Wilamowitz. The construction in ll. 2–7 is not clear; cf. note on l. 5.

3. Δημαί[ετ]ος: he is identical, as was perceived by Wilamowitz, with Δημαίνετος ὁ Βουζύγης in Aeschines ii. 78 θεῖος δὲ ἡμέτερος Κλεόβουλος ὁ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἀχαρνέως υἱὸς μετὰ Δημαινέτου τοῦ Βουζύγου συγκατεναυμάχησε Χείλωνα τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων ναύαρχον, Χείλων being obviously identical with the harmost of Aegina called Μίλων in i. 22 and ii. 35. Aeschines has exaggerated the importance of the naval engagement, which as P shows was a trivial affair. The Demaenetus who is mentioned as strategus in 388–7 in Aegina (Xen. *Hell.* v. 1. 10) and in the autumn of 387 on the Hellespont (*Hell.* v. 1. 26) is no doubt the same person as Demaenetus ὁ Βουζύγης; cf. Kirchner, *Att. Prosopogr.* i. p. 216: but that on the present occasion he held the office of strategus is neither stated by P nor in itself likely. Meyer well compares the private expedition of Macartatus to Crete in (probably) 386–379 with a trireme which he had bought (Isaeus xi. 48). The word following Δημαίν[ετ]ος

seems to be a title, if *αἰτῆς* is right. *κύριος* could be read, but this would imply that the trireme was Demaenetus' own property, whereas it was clearly a warship belonging to the State. The doubtful *κ* might be *α*; the following letter can equally well be *γ*, *ι*, *μ*, *ν*, *π*, *τ*, or *υ*; for *. ι* (*ρι*?) a single letter (*ν*?) may be substituted, and in place of *υτη* (or *ιτη*) *γη* should perhaps be read. A single word as a family name or a title would be more suitable than *κ . . ιος αἰτῆς*, but *Βουζύγης* is inadmissible, though it is possible that the word in the papyrus is a corruption of this.

4. *β]ουλῇ ὡς*: for other instances of hiatus cf. vi. 39, vii. 7, xi. 22, xii. 24, xvi. 6, xviii. 5 and 24.

πράγ[ματος: the end of this line must have projected some distance beyond that of l. 1 and ll. 5 sqq.

5. *ἐπειδή*: the vestiges of the letter following *δ* suit *η* somewhat better than *ε*. *σὺν [οἷς* instead of *συν* | would have the advantage of preventing this line from being exceptionally short, but the construction of ll. 2–7 is then somewhat awkward. Between *αυτω* and *πολειτων* the scribe seems to have omitted either *τινες* or *των*, more probably the former; cf. the omissions of words in i. 36, ii. 16, xi. 20, xiv. 13, 29, xvi. 23, and xx. 20. Or possibly *συν' οι*, i. e. *συ(χ)νοί* should be read, as Wilamowitz suggests.

6. *ναῦν*: *τὴν ναῦν* would be expected, especially if *αὐτῆς* in l. 3 is right.

9. *γνώ]μμ[οι]*: cf. xii. 31.

16. Thrasybulus and Anytus are well known as leaders of the moderate democratic party at this period. On *Αἴσιμος*, who is less frequently mentioned, cf. Kirchner, *Att. Prosopogr.* i. p. 22. Our author ignores Archinus, who was also prominent at this time (cf. p. 140). It is interesting to note the cautious policy pursued by this section of the Athenian democrats, who side with the aristocrats in objecting to an open breach with Sparta, and for the moment succeed in curbing the warlike spirit of the majority of the democratic party headed by Epicrates and Cephalus (l. 35). The course of events was, however, too strong for the advocates of peace, and Thrasybulus himself in the late summer of 395 proposed the alliance with Boeotia, which was agreed to without opposition (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 5. 16). If the events recorded in i. 1–iii. 7 belonged to the spring or early summer of 395, the change of policy must have taken place within a very few months, and seems very sudden. It is therefore much more satisfactory to refer chapters I–III to 396, and to suppose more than a year's interval between the expedition of Demaenetus and the alliance of Athens with Boeotia; cf. iii. 9, note.

22. *Μίλωνα*: he is called *Χείλων* by Aeschines ii. 78; cf. note on l. 3. Which is the correct form is uncertain.

27. *ο[ιτεπρα]ττεν* (l. *ἀντέπραττον*): it is possible that the scribe has himself corrected the *ε* to *ο*.

27–8. For the secret assistance rendered to Conon by the Athenians cf. Isocr. *Paneg.* 142 *ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ περὶ Ῥόδον . . . χρώμενος δὲ ταῖς ὑπηρεσίαις ταῖς παρ' ἡμῶν, στρατηγοῦντος δ' αὐτῷ Κόνωνος.*

30. The letter after *βασιλεα*, if not *π*, can only be *γ*. *π[ρότερον* is somewhat too long and is not very appropriate, since it occurs immediately afterwards in l. 32. Bury suggests *π[ρῶτον*, i. e. the first embassy to the Persians since the Peace. *Ἐ π[ι]κράτη* is possible, but in that case we should expect our author to have distinguished this Epicrates from the democratic leader of that name mentioned in l. 35. *το* can be read in place of *π[ι]*, and *Ἰπ]π[ο]κράτη* or *Αὐ]τοκράτη* is more likely; *Ἀρισ]τοκράτη* seems to be too long. One of the three ambassadors, Hagnias, is known from Isae. xi. 8 *Ἀγνίας οὖν ὅτε ἐκπλεῖν παρεσκευάζετο πρεσβεύσων ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς πράξεις*, and from Harpocration *s. v.* *Ἀγνίας, τοῦτον καὶ τοὺς συμπρεσβευτὰς αὐτοῦ φησὶν Ἀνδροτίων ἐν πέμπτῳ τῆς Ἀτθίδος καὶ Φιλόχορος ὡς ἑάλωσάν τε καὶ ἀπέθανον.* Telesegorus is possibly the father of *Λεωμήδης Τελεσηγόρου Κολλυτεύς* who

occurs in an inscription of the middle of the fourth century B.C. (Kirchner, *op. cit.* ii. p. 304). The date of the embassy, which was previously uncertain, is now fixed within narrow limits by the mention of Φάραξ ὁ πρότερον ναύαρχος, for he is known from Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2. 12, 14 to have co-operated with Dercylidas in the spring and summer of 397. Apart from the uncertainty as to the period of the year in which the Spartan ναύαρχοι entered on their command, it has been disputed whether Pharax' term of office belongs to 398–7 or 397–6. Since his ναυαρχία is here spoken of as past, the present passage, if i. 1–iii. 7 are rightly assigned to the first half of 396, is strongly in favour of the date 398–7; cf. iii. 9 and 23–6, notes.

i. 33 sqq. P here diverges into a highly interesting account of the causes of the formation of the anti-Spartan league, and in connexion with the mission of Timocrates the Rhodian supplies some new information of importance. Xenophon (*Hell.* iii. 5. 1–2) attributes to Tithraustes the mission of the Persian envoy with 50 talents, and specifies as the recipients at Thebes Androclidas, Ismenias, and Galaxidorus, at Corinth Timolaus and Polyanthes, at Argos Cylon and οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, but says of the Athenians καὶ οὐ μεταλαβόντες τούτου τοῦ χρυσίου ὅμως πρόθυμοι ἦσαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον νομίζοντές τε αὐτῶν ἄρχεσθαι. He then proceeds to describe the outbreak of the Boeotian war, which he regards as the direct outcome of Timocrates' bribes. Pausanias (iii. 9. 8) also connects Timocrates with Tithraustes, and gives a list of the recipients of the money (Cylon and Sodamas at Argos, Androclides, Ismenias, and Amphithemis at Thebes, Cephalus and Epicrates at Athens, Polyanthes and Timolaus at Argos), and like Xenophon treats the Boeotian war, in describing which he mentions σῖτον ἀκμάζοντα, as an effect of the mission. Plutarch too (*Artax.* 20; cf. *Lysand.* 27, *Ages.* 15) agrees with Xenophon's date for Timocrates. Only Polyaenus (i. 48) connects the episode not with Tithraustes but with Pharnabazus, Κόνων Φαρναβάζῳ συμμαχῶν Ἀγησιλάου τὴν Ἀσίαν πορθοῦντος ἔπεισε τὸν Πέρσην χρυσίον πέμψαι τοῖς δημαγωγοῖς, κ.τ.λ., though it is possible that his statement is due to mere carelessness. Diodorus, Nepos, and Justin are silent on the subject. Our author, as appears both from i. 37 and ii. 4 and 32 πόλεσι ταῖς προειρημέναις, had already described the sending of Timocrates, no doubt in its chronological position, in his main narrative, but ii. 33 shows that, like Polyaenus, he connected it with Pharnabazus, and i. 37–ii. 1 indicates that, like Pausanias, he in opposition to Xenophon believed in the guilt of the Athenians Epicrates and Cephalus. In ii. 1 sqq., however, he controverts the view that the anti-Spartan league was brought about by Timocrates, attributing the hostility of the states to Sparta to other and older reasons. It has been generally recognized that Xenophon's account of the origin of the confederacy is chronologically untenable, for if Timocrates was sent by Tithraustes, who cannot have reached Sardis before June 395, he must have arrived in Greece after the beginning of the Boeotian war (of which Pausanias' date is now confirmed by xi. 34 τούτου τοῦ θέρους), and therefore cannot have been the cause of it; and historians have usually accepted Xenophon's date for Timocrates' mission, and abandoned the connexion between it and the outbreak of the war; cf. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* ii. p. 193; Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* v. pp. 231–2. Now, however, in the light of the new evidence another solution of the chronological difficulty in Xenophon's account is preferable. The error lies not in making Timocrates' mission precede the beginning of the war, but in supposing that he was sent by Tithraustes. On the view that he was inspired by Pharnabazus the difficulty vanishes, for it is clear from the order of the narrative in P, who does not reach the Boeotian war until xi. 34 sqq., that there was a considerable interval of time (more than a year) between the mission and the opening of hostilities in the summer of 395. The reference in προειρημέναι πόλεις (ii. 4 and 32) seems to be to a not very distant passage, and it is possible that the description of Timocrates' mission in the main narrative occurred shortly before Col. i. If so, since the expedition of Demaenetus took place in the first half of 396, the journey of Timocrates

must have occurred not later than the spring of that year. An earlier date for it would produce a conflict with Polyaenus, since he synchronizes the mission with the campaigns of Agesilaus in Asia, which began in the spring of 396. Polyaenus' statement is not lightly to be disregarded, especially as a close relation between him and P has been detected in another passage; cf. vii. 4, note. On the other hand the argument in i. 33–ii. 1 is more logical if the dispatch of Timocrates preceded in point of time the embassy mentioned in i. 29–33, which took place in 397 (cf. l. 30, note), and the year 397, in which Pharnabazus and Conon set to work to construct a fleet, is in itself a very suitable date. Hence the interval between the mission and the outbreak of the Boeotian war may be as much as two years. Even if Cols. i–iv are placed after v–viii and belong to the year 395 (cf. iii. 9, note), P's date for the mission cannot be brought down later than the spring of 395, so that there would still remain an interval of some months between it and the Boeotian war. The chronological mistake made by Xenophon and others may well be due, as Meyer suggests, to the circumstance that the fruits of the Persian bribes were not apparent till the summer of 395.

On the question of the date of Timocrates' mission and the Persian who inspired it, P is certainly right as against Xenophon. Which account is to be followed in regard to the action of the Athenian democrats? Here, too, we think P's version is more probable than Xenophon's, and that Epicrates and Cephalus, as Pausanias also states, took the Persian gold. There was clearly a widespread belief in the fourth century that they did so, as is shown not only by our author's own view, but by that of the unnamed τινές, which he controverts in ii. 1–7, without however disputing the fact of the bribes having been received. Moreover, P's explanation of the origin of the anti-Spartan feeling as due not to bribery, but to anterior and deeper lying causes, is eminently just, and exhibits his acute insight into the politics of the fourth century, in which many of the leading statesmen thought it no shame to be in the pay of a foreign power, so long as the policy of which they really approved was pursued. And if P is right, as is practically certain, in minimizing the effects of Timocrates' bribes, he is probably correct also in his admission with regard to Epicrates and Cephalus. Xenophon must have known of the charges against them, but, exaggerating the part played by Persian gold in bringing about the league, and, like our author, being aware of the strong war feeling at Athens (the corrupt words νομίζοντές τε αὐτῶν ἄρχεσθαι probably refer, as Meyer remarks, to the Athenian desire to recover their empire; cf. *Hell.* iii. 5. 10 καὶ μὴν ὅτι βούλοισθ' ἂν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν πρότερον ἐκέκτησθε ἀναλαβεῖν πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα), seems to have excepted the Athenians, mainly in order that he might emphasize the accusations of Medizing which he brings against the other allies, in particular the Thebans. Only in one respect does P compare unfavourably with Xenophon, the desire for personal profit imputed as a motive to the Athenian war party (ii. 10–14). Here he seems to be influenced by an anti-democratic bias, which is quite in keeping with that of Theopompus (cf. p. 129), and to misrepresent the natural patriotic aspirations of the Athenians to which Xenophon alludes, thereby coming nearer to the truth.

36. For the omissions cf. i. 5, note.

37. Τιμοκράτει: so also Xenophon and Pausanias. Plato (*Meno* 90 A) calls him Πολυκράτης, but the fault may be due to his MSS. Plutarch in *Artax.* 20 has the form Ἑρμοκράτην and Ἑρμοκράτους, but in the second case apparently with a variant Τιμοκράτους, so that the mistake is presumably due to the MSS.

ii. 1. τινὲς λέγ[ουσιν: the view which our author here controverts, and which originated no doubt in Sparta, coloured the sources from which Pausanias drew his information, and Xenophon shared it to a large extent; cf. note on i. 33. That P included Xenophon among the τινές is not likely, seeing that P's work was written little, if at all, later than Xenophon's *Hellenica* (cf. p. 124); the reference may be to historical works which have perished or merely to current tradition.

ii. 8. Βοιωτ[. . . . .]γωται : if not γ, the letter after the lacuna must be τ.]γωται or τωται is very intractable; and if a correction is necessary the simplest course is to read στασι]γωται, i. e. στασιῶται, the superfluous γ being an example of the practice of inserting a γ between two vowels, which is not uncommon in Ptolemaic papyri. A difficulty, however, then arises about the termination of Βοιωτ[, for the lacuna ought to contain only six or seven letters. Βοιωτ[ων οι στασι]γωται is too long, and for Βοιωτ[ιοι στασι]γωται there is barely room. That the scribe wrote Βοιωτ[οι is in any case probable (cf. l. 16), but Βοιωτός is not used as an adjective at this period, so that with Βοιωτ[οι στασι]γωται two corrections are necessary, which is not a very satisfactory hypothesis. If στασιῶται is the word intended, it must apply to the Argives as well as to the Boeotians, for the two states are treated as exactly parallel in l. 16, and the clause ὅτι τοῖς ἐναν[τίοις κ.τ.λ. refers to both, which implies that there was a philo-Laconian party at Argos as well as at Thebes. Theban politics at this period are discussed in greater detail in xii. 31 sqq.

13–4. This sarcastic and somewhat unfair criticism of the motives of the Athenian war party favours the view that our author is Theopompus; cf. note on i. 33 and p. 129.

17. Τ[ιμό]λαος : both Xenophon and Pausanias state that he took Timocrates' bribes (cf. i. 33, note), and P no doubt admitted the fact, as he does definitely in the case of Epicrates and Cephalus; but he regarded Timolaus' private quarrel with the Spartans as the chief reason for his present anti-Spartan attitude. In Xen. *Hell.* iv. 2. 11 Timolaus appears as leader of the Corinthian contingent at the battle of Nemea.

21–32. Of Timolaus' exploits in the Decelean war (which is again referred to in xiii. 16 and 30) the expedition to Thasos must, as Meyer remarks, have occurred towards the end of 411. Thucydides (viii. 64) records in that year the fall of the Thasian democracy, the fortification of the city, and the expectation of speedy assistance from the Spartans, with whom the exiled Thasian oligarchs had taken refuge. In 410 Thasos has a Spartan harmost (Xen. *Hell.* i. 1. 32), so that the arrival of Timolaus with the Peloponnesian fleet falls in the intervening period. The incidents related in ll. 24–32 therefore occurred just after the point at which Thucydides' history breaks off, and the reference in ll. 27–8 to a former mention of them (probably in the main narrative) is important as an indication that the present work was a continuation of Thucydides; cf. p. 122. The earlier exploit, the plundering of certain islands (ll. 22–4), probably took place in 412 or early in 411, and is passed over by Thucydides.

26. σιχιον must be corrupt, and more probably conceals the name of the Athenian strategus than a reference to Chios. The only name among the known Athenian strategi at that period which remotely resembles Σιχιος is Στρομβιχίδης (Thuc. viii. 15–79), but he is not likely to be meant.

27. ὥσπερ εἴρηκ[ά π]ου καὶ πρότερον : cf. xii. 32 ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἴρηκα, and ii. 21–32, note.

29. ἔπ]εμψαν : παρέπεμψαν would be expected (cf. Dem. viii. 25 παραπέμπεσθαι τὰ πλοῖα τὰ αὑτῶν), but κ[αὶ ἃ παρέπ]εμψαν τρία [πλοῖ]α is not satisfactory.

30. Wilamowitz suggests [τὰς ἕνδεκα] in the lacuna.

33. Φαρνάβαζον : cf. i. 33, note.

34. The curious order of the words ἐπηρμένοι μισεῖν ἦσιν is due to the desire to avoid hiatus; cf. xi. 22, note.

iii. 1–5. That Fr. 1 belongs to the top of this column is practically certain, (1) from internal evidence of its suitability to this context; (2) from the colour of the papyrus, which resembles that of Cols. i–ii in being much lighter than the rest; (3) from the recto, which has the beginnings of two lines that suit the first two lines of the column of the land-survey on the recto of Col. ii. The remainder of Col. iii (which on the recto has the ends of lines of a column of the land-survey) is on a separate fragment, but the correctness of its

position admits of no doubt; cf. ὁ δὲ Μίλ]ων εἰς Αἴγιναν in l. 6. Since the width of the gap separating Fr. 1 from the bulk of Col. iii cannot be determined with absolute precision, and the beginnings of lines are lost throughout this column, the size of the lacuna on each side of Fr. 1 may be slightly larger or smaller than we have supposed in our restoration, which proceeds on the assumption that 5 or 6 letters are missing at the beginning and 8 or 9 in the middle of ll. 1–5.

It is not clear whose ship Demaenetus took possession of. Aeschines ii. 78 (cf. i. 3, note) states that he συγκατεναυμάχησε Χείλωνα (i.e. Milon), and Wilamowitz, reading τῆς ν]εώς in vii. 2, thinks that Demaenetus captured Milon's ship. To this there are the objections: (1) that it is not easy to see how Demaenetus obtained possession of Milon's ship without capturing Milon himself, who, as appears from l. 6, returned safely to Aegina; (2) that the plural αὐτῶν in l. 2 suits the inhabitants of a place just mentioned (cf. vi. 24–5 εἰς Ἀμφίπολιν καταπλεύσας καὶ παρ' ἐ[κείνων) better than the Spartans; (3) the remains of l. 7 suggest that Demaenetus took flight on Milon's approach rather than that he gave action. Hence we prefer to regard αὐτῶν as the inhabitants either of Thoricus or, reading ἐπὶ Πολυ . . . . or Π . αρ . . . ., of that place, though we are unable to suggest a suitable place-name. μῖας ν]εώς is, however, not satisfactory, and τῆς would suit the space better. For τινός there is no room, but του (Bury) is possible.

6–7. Something like μετὰ τῆς τριήρους ἀπέπλευσε is required.

Cols. iii. 7–iv. 42 = chs. IV–V. *The Naval War.*

iii. 9. The mutilation of this passage, which if complete would have explained the chronological system adopted by our author, is much to be deplored. If Cols. i–iv are correctly placed before v–viii, which describe Agesilaus' campaign in the spring and early summer of 395, the θέρος in iii. 9 must be that of 396, and the '8th year', of which the beginning is noted in l. 10, is 396–5. An earlier date is excluded by the description of Pharax in i. 31–2 as ὁ πρότερον ναύαρχος; for he is known to have held that office in the spring and summer of 397 (cf. i. 30, note), and since the expedition of Demaenetus, in connexion with which he is mentioned, falls within the seventh year of P's reckoning and Pharax' term of office was then already over, it is impossible to make the 8th year begin in 397. Granted that the θέρος in iii. 9 refers to 396 and is the beginning of the 8th year (the possibility of its referring to 395 will be discussed later), it remains doubtful what month P precisely regarded as the starting-point. Thucydides, who divides each year of the war into two equal parts, θέρος and χειμών, makes the former begin in the spring (cf. e.g. iv. 117 ἅμα ἦρι τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους), and Xenophon in *Hell.* i–ii. 3, where he is influenced by the annalistic method of Thucydides, similarly reckons in years beginning with the spring. Since P's work is probably, like Xenophon's, a continuation of Thucydides' history (cf. p. 122) and seems to be constructed on chronological principles, which if not as strict as those of Thucydides are more careful than Xenophon's, there is a certain presumption that he too reckoned in years which began in the spring; and iii. 11 may even have commenced with some phrase like ἔαρος ἀρχομένου. On the other hand θέρος in iii. 9 might very well refer to midsummer, the starting-point of the Olympiads and year of the Attic archons. The later columns are compatible with either hypothesis: v-viii cover the period from about March—June 395, xi–xxi that from about July—November of the same year, and the transition from the 8th to the 9th year would, if it was noted and took place in the spring, naturally occur in the gap between Cols. iv and v, while if it was at midsummer, it would occur in the gap before Col. xi. In xi. 34 τούτου τοῦ θέρους referring to the war between Boeotia and Phocis probably means July, and the fact that the Theban intrigues and the dispute between Phocis and Locris, which are narrated in xiv. 21 sqq., began before midsummer (cf. xiv. 21, note) provides no argument against the view that the 9th year began in

midsummer, for there is no reason to think that P's arrangement of facts was so strictly annalistic as to prevent his grouping together an intimately connected series of incidents belonging to the conclusion of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th year. The later columns being thus indecisive, the question what is meant by *θέρος* in iii. 9 has to be decided by the evidence of Cols. i–iv. Assuming—as is most probable but by no means absolutely certain—that the incidents in i. 1–iii. 7 refer to the conclusion of the 7th year and those in iii. 11 sqq. to the beginning of the 8th, it is on the whole more satisfactory to regard the *θέρος* in which the 8th year began as midsummer, not spring. The narrative of the expedition of Demaenetus does not help, for the only definite mark of date connected with it is the mention of Pharax as the former *ναύαρχος*, and if Pharax' term of office ended, as is likely, in the autumn of 397 (cf. iii. 23–6, note) the expedition may have taken place during the winter of 397–6 just as well as in the spring or early summer of 396. But the account of the naval war in iii. 11 sqq. favours the view that the 8th year began in the summer. It would be surprising in the first place that the narrative of the 8th year, if this began in the spring, should commence with the comparatively unimportant naval war in place of the expedition of Agesilaus to Asia. Secondly, the arrival of the reinforcements from Phoenicia (iii. 23–6, cf. note) is more likely to have occurred towards the end than at the beginning of 396, for though Diodorus seems to have placed that event too late, the view that these reinforcements were available to Conon throughout the campaign of 396 does not well accord with the statements of Isocrates about the blockade of Caunus. Thirdly, the arrival of the new Spartan *ναύαρχος* (probably Pollis), which happened soon after the beginning of the 8th year (iii. 21, note), suits the late summer better than the spring, not merely because the summer or autumn was the normal time in which a new *ναύαρχος* entered on his duties, but because the arrival of Cheiricrates, the successor of Pollis, is definitely fixed by xv. 33 for the late summer (about July or August) of 395. If, therefore, the new *ναύαρχος* of iii. 21 came out in the spring, either he remained in office considerably more than a year, or he was not Pollis but some unknown individual, and Pollis' arrival occurred later, the notice of it in P being lost. Of these two alternatives the second would be preferable to the first, for great as are the irregularities connected with the Spartan *ναυαρχία* (cf. iii. 21, note), there is no precedent for a *ναύαρχος* who took over the command in the spring remaining in that position until the summer of the year following, and the mention of Pollis in iii. 21 is of course conjectural. No one of the arguments in favour of treating the *θέρος* in iii. 9 as midsummer is very strong, but together they seem to counterbalance the presumption in favour of the other explanation created by the example of Thucydides and Xenophon, and for the present we leave the question open. In any case P does not use the Attic archons for dating purposes, but like Thucydides and Xenophon reckons back to a fixed point. What this was is owing to the lacuna in l. 10 not definitely ascertainable. It is not the end of the Peloponnesian war as foreshadowed by Thucydides v. 26, where he states his intention of carrying his history up to the surrender of Athens; for the capture of the city by Lysander took place on Munychion 16 = April 24, 404 according to Plutarch *Lysand.* 15, and the 8th year on P's system being 396–5, his epoch-year is 403–2, not 404–3. Xenophon, however (or rather, as is generally supposed, his interpolator), in *Hell.* ii. 3. 9 treats the capitulation of Samos in the autumn of 404 as the end of the war, and in any case it would seem that P connected the events of 404, including the capture of Samos and the despotism of the Thirty, with the war, and made a fresh start in the spring or summer of 403, i.e. approximately from the archonship of Euclides, a well-known landmark in Greek history. The restoration of the Athenian democracy and the general amnesty occurred on Boedromion 12 (= Oct. 4) 403 (Plut. *de glor. Ath.* 7). On this view iii. 9–10 should perhaps be restored *τῇ μὲν [εἰρήνῃ τῇ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους.*

Our discussion has so far proceeded on the fundamental assumption that Cols. i–iv are rightly placed before v–viii, and we have hitherto left out of account the hypothesis that the *θέρος* in iii. 9 may refer not to 396 but to 395. It is not worth while reviewing in detail the consequences that would ensue from the combination of the present arrangement of Cols. i–viii with the view that the *θέρος* belongs to 395, for that hypothesis would remove none of the difficulties which have led us to place Cols. i–iv before v–viii, and would not be supported by the chief argument for transposing v–viii before i–iv, the fact that Cols. i–iv are in the same hand as that of vi. 27–xxi (cf. p. 114). If the *θέρος* in iii. 9 refers to 395, there is not the least doubt that Cols. v–viii should precede i–iv, not follow them. What are the results of this arrangement?

In the first place the *θέρος* of iii. 9 would necessarily mean midsummer not spring, for the account of Agesilaus' campaign in the spring and early summer of 395 would have preceded; accordingly Demaenetus' expedition would have occurred in the spring or early summer of 395. There is no insuperable objection to this, although the change of policy on the part of Thrasybulus and the moderate democrats with regard to a war with Sparta would become very sudden, and it is more satisfactory to suppose at least a year's interval between the events described in i. 7–25 and the unanimously voted alliance of Athens with Boeotia in the late summer of 395; cf. i. 16, note. With regard to Pharax, the mention of him as *ὁ πρότερον ναύαρχος* would merely cease to bear strongly on the vexed question of the date of his *ναυαρχία*, since whether he was *ναύαρχος* in 398–7 or 397–6, he would equally be *ὁ πρότερον ναύαρχος* in the spring of 395. The really serious difficulties begin when we try to imagine what could have stood in the lacuna in iii. 10, and what reasons P had for taking as his epoch the remarkably uneventful year 402–1, corresponding to the archonship of Micon. That P should have grouped the events of the year of *ἀναρχία* with the Peloponnesian war is perfectly intelligible, but that he should have also included in it the whole of the archonship of Euclides, and made a fresh start with the Attic new year following the amnesty is very extraordinary. At the time when v–viii were placed before i–iv, Meyer suggested for iii. 10 *τῇ μὲν [τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχῇ* or *ἡγεμονίᾳ*, i.e. the definitive organization of the Spartan hegemony, but we should certainly expect some particular event of well-known importance to be mentioned there, not a vague phrase. And, since no important historical incident occurred in the archonship of Micon at all, the choice of 402–1 as a starting-point would remain a complete enigma. Problems of still greater difficulty would, however, arise in connexion with the appearance of the new *ναύαρχος*; for that he was Pollis, the predecessor of Cheiricrates, would be practically certain, and it would become necessary to suppose either that he disappeared almost immediately after his arrival, or that in iii. 11 sqq. P has abandoned altogether the chronological sequence of events and reverted to incidents which took place long before the beginning of the 8th year. Neither of the two explanations is at all satisfactory; cf. iii. 21, note, and iii. 23–6, note, where the whole question of the chronology of this period is discussed more in detail. The overwhelming difficulties which ensue concerning the starting-point of P's system of years and the *ναυαρχία* of Pollis, if the *θέρος* in iii. 9 refers to 395, seem to us much to outweigh the advantages which result from placing Cols. v–viii before i–iv: for apart from the argument based on the change of hands which is far from conclusive (cf. p. 115), especially as the margin before Col. i suggests that it is the commencement of a new book or section, the only gain afforded by making Cols. v–viii precede i–iv is that it would then be easy to bring P into harmony with Diodorus as to the date of the arrival of the reinforcements from Phoenicia recorded in iii. 23–6. It is, however, not absolutely certain that P and Diodorus differ on this point even if the *θέρος* belongs to 396, and in any case the apparent order of events in P possesses such manifest advantages over their sequence in Diodorus that we are prepared to admit an error on the part of the latter; cf. p. 213.

iii. 11 sqq. P now turns to the naval war, the fragmentary account of which bristles with difficulties. The first is the identity of the person *-αρος* (*-δρος* cannot be read) who occurs in l. 11 and again apparently in ll. 19 and 30. The context (especially the mentions of Pharnabazus in ll. 16 and 36) indicates that he was on the side of the Persians, not of the Spartans; and if ll. 11–20 all refer to him he seems to have been in command of the fleet and to have had negotiations with Pharnabazus concerning the pay (cf. xv. 37, sqq.), while ll. 28–31 perhaps refer to his departure as the result of some new arrangement about the command introduced by Pharnabazus, his place being apparently taken by Conon (l. 31). Against this interpretation may be urged the fact that in the account of Diodorus, who owing to the silence of Xenophon is practically the sole authority for the naval operations between the building of the Persian fleet and the battle of Cnidus, Conon is throughout in command of the Persian fleet; cf. xiv. 39. 2 *τῷ δὲ Κόνωνι περὶ τῆς ναυαρχίας διαλεχθεὶς ἐπέστησεν* (sc. Pharnabazus) *αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἡγεμόνα*, and 81. 4 *Κόνων ὁ τῶν Περσῶν ναύαρχος*. At the battle of Cnidus, however, Xenophon (*Hell.* iv. 3. 11) speaks of Pharnabazus as *ναύαρχος*, and it seems possible that at the period with which Col. iii is concerned Conon, though really directing the operations, was nominally subject to a Persian commander other than Pharnabazus. That *-αρος* was one of Conon's lieutenants is not likely, for both P (xi. 10–1) and Diodorus mention Hieronymus and Nicophemus as acting in this capacity (cf. note *ad loc.*); that he was a Spartan *ναύαρχος* is still less probable, for even if ll. 16–8 refer to Conon's negotiations with Pharnabazus, not to *-αρος*, the Spartan fleet seems to be mentioned for the first time in l. 20, and the *ἀρχή* of *-αρος* in l. 30 most probably refers to the *ναυαρχία* in l. 28, which in view of the context is almost certainly the Persian, not the Spartan.

12. *ἐ]κεῖ*: probably Caunus, the head quarters of the Persian fleet in the Aegean (cf. ll. 24 sqq.). That Rhodes, which became the head quarters later, had already revolted from Sparta is on the whole unlikely; cf. iii. 23–6, note.

17–8. Perhaps *βουλό[μενος τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ συμμείξ]αι*; cf. xv. 37.

21. *Πόλλις*]: cf. xv. 32–5, where the arrival of Cheiricrates as successor to Pollis is mentioned as having taken place before Conon's visit to Tithraustes and the mutiny. Both *ναύαρχοι* were previously unknown. Since Cheiricrates' arrival is there mentioned in terms which seem to imply that this had not been previously referred to, it is not at all satisfactory to restore *ἀφίκετο Χειρικράτης* here, and *Πόλλις* may be regarded as practically certain. That the *ναυαρχία* at Sparta was an annual office is generally agreed, but whether it normally was entered upon in midsummer or in the autumn is much disputed. Meyer, who formerly (*Gesch. d. Alt.* iv. p. 619) agreed with Beloch (*Philol.* xliii. p. 261) in accepting midsummer, now agrees with Lohse (*Quaest. chronol. ad Xenoph. Hell. pertinentes*, pp. 43 sqq.) and with Beloch's former view (*Rhein. Mus.* xxxiv. p. 119) in regarding the autumn, i.e. the beginning of the official Spartan year, as the normal commencement of the term of office of the *ναύαρχοι*. But whatever may have been the rule, there is no doubt that there were great irregularities in practice. Lysander, for instance, was in command not from autumn to autumn or even summer to summer, but from spring to spring; cf. Lohse, *l. c.* But since the episode in connexion with which Cheiricrates is mentioned is related by P after the Boeotian war, which took place in the summer (xi. 34), and before the campaign of Agesilaus in the late summer and autumn, Cheiricrates' arrival must have occurred soon after midsummer, 395. He is mentioned again in connexion with the autumn campaign (xxi. 26), and was no doubt succeeded in the course of the winter by Pisander, who fell at the battle of Cnidus in August 394; cf. xv. 33, note. Cheiricrates' predecessor, Pollis, would therefore be expected to have come out in the summer or autumn of 396, and the great probability of this date for Pollis' arrival is one of the chief reasons for putting Cols. i–iv before v–viii in spite of the difficulty caused by the change of hands; cf. iii. 9,

note. For if Cols. i–iv are placed after v–viii and the 8th year in iii. 9 is 395–4, not 396–5, the advent of Pollis seems to coincide almost with his replacement by Cheiricrates. This conflict of evidence can only be explained in one of two ways. It is possible that Pollis entered office in the summer of 395, but only held it for a very short time before being succeeded by Cheiricrates. It is, however, not satisfactory to suppose that he was recalled so soon, still less that he died, for he is likely to be identical with the Pollis who was *ἐπιστολεύς* in 393–2 (Xen. *Hell.* iv. 8. 11), and perhaps with the *ναύαρχος* of that name in 376 (Xen. *Hell.* v. 4. 61). Or secondly, Pollis may have entered office in the summer of 396, and on the hypothesis that Cols. i–iv follow v–viii the mention of his arrival is out of its proper chronological position. It must then be supposed that in relating the naval war P has departed from the fairly strict chronological arrangement followed by him in narrating the campaigns of Agesilaus and events in Greece, and has grouped together in Col. iii sqq. a series of events beginning with some which ought to have been mentioned long before. This explanation, however, is also very unsatisfactory, for in the subsequent sections dealing with the naval war (xi. 1–34, xv. 32–xviii. 33) the chronological arrangement is adhered to at the price of dividing the narrative of Conon's operations into two parts separated from each other by the account of the Boeotian war; and since iii. 9–10 seem to record the conclusion of one year and the beginning of another, it is singularly difficult to regard the events next related as really belonging to the beginning of the year just concluded.

22. *Ἀρχελαΐδα*: this seems to be the name of a ship rather than of a place; cf. Frs. 19. 8 and 20. 11, where it is perhaps mentioned again. Possibly there is some connexion with Archelaus king of Macedonia, a country which is mentioned in ix. 29.

23–6. Cf. Diod. xiv. 79. 8 *παρεγενήθησαν δὲ τῷ Κόνωνι τριήρεις ἐνενήκοντα, δέκα μὲν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας, ὀγδοήκοντα δ' ἀπὸ Φοινίκης, ὧν ὁ Σιδωνίων δυνάστης εἶχε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν*, a passage which is no doubt derived directly or indirectly from P (cf. p. 137), though whether Diodorus and P agreed exactly with regard to the numbers of the ships is by no means certain in view of the differences between them as to numbers elsewhere; cf. v. 13–6, 60, and vi. 21, notes. There is also the difficulty in Diodorus' account that these 90 ships added to the 80 which Conon possessed previously (xiv. 79. 6) make 170 triremes, but in his description of the battle of Cnidus (83. 4) the Persian fleet consists of only *τριήρεις . . . πλείους τῶν ἐνενήκοντα*, against 85 on the side of the Spartans. Xenophon, however, (*Hell.* iv. 3. 12) states that the Spartan fleet was greatly inferior in numbers, so that *πλείους τῶν ἐνενήκοντα* seems to imply too low an estimate.

Diodorus' statement concerning the arrival of the 90 ships comes at the end of a section dealing with the naval war (79. 4–8), in which he previously recounts the assistance offered by the king of Egypt to the Spartans, the blockade of Conon with 40 ships at Caunus by Pharax, the Spartan *ναύαρχος*, with 120 ships, the relief of Conon by Pharnabazus and Artaphernes, the revolt of Rhodes from the Spartans, and the capture by Conon of the Egyptian corn-ships which sailed to Rhodes in ignorance of the revolt. These incidents of the naval war he synchronizes with the dispatch of Agesilaus to Asia and his first campaign (79. 4 *τούτων δὲ πραττομένων*, referring to 79. 1–3); the second campaign of Agesilaus, which corresponds to Cols. v–viii, follows immediately afterwards (80. 1 *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα*), being succeeded by the Boeotian war and the battle of Haliartus (81. 1 *τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διφκημένων*), and Conon's visit to Babylon (81. 4–6). The events of all three chapters 79–81 are assigned by Diodorus to the year 396–5, but his narrative of the two preceding years 398–7 and 397–6 deals only with Sicilian history, and it is clear that in those three chapters the events of two or more years have been compressed into one. Isocrates (*Paneg.* 142) speaks of the Persian fleet being blockaded (*πολιορκούμενον*) for three years *ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ περὶ Ῥόδον*; but *πολιορκούμενον* is clearly a rhetorical exaggeration,

and it is not certain whether he is referring to the years 397–5 or 396–4. Beloch (*Gr. Gesch.* ii. p. 146), supported by Lohse, *op. cit.* pp. 24 sqq., takes the former view, placing the arrival of Conon at Caunus and the siege and relief of that place in 397, principally on account of the mention of Pharax, who is known from Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2. 12 to have accompanied Dercylidas in his campaign of 397, which began in the spring. The revolt of Rhodes is referred by Beloch to the summer of 395, by Lohse to the summer of 396. Meyer, on the other hand (*op. cit.* v. pp. 208–9), connecting *Paneg.* 142 with *Evag.* 64, where it is stated that the king Λακεδαιμονίων ἐντὸς τριῶν ἐτῶν ἀφείλετο τὴν ἀρχήν, i. e. in the three years 396–4 up to the battle of Cnidus in August 394 (cf. *Paneg.* 154 and *Evag.* 56 through Conon's fleet Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν κατεναυμαχήθησαν καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπεστερήθησαν, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἠλευθερώθησαν), postpones the arrival of Conon at Caunus and the siege of that town by Pharax to the spring of 396, placing the revolt of Rhodes at about the beginning of 395. That the naval war did not begin in the summer of 397 is, he thinks, implied by Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. 4. 1, where the commotion at Sparta caused by the news of the Persian preparations of a large fleet brings about the expedition of Agesilaus, which left Greece in the spring of 396. The chief objections to this view are (1) that it implies a very long term of office as ναύαρχος for Pharax, who is known to have been already acting in that capacity in the spring and early summer of 397, and (2) that if his operations in Asia against Conon took place in 396 it is difficult to account for his presence at Syracuse about midsummer of that year; cf. Diod. xiv. 63. 4 and 70. 2, where Φαρακίδας is no doubt identical with Φάραξ, though Diodorus is almost certainly wrong in still calling him ναύαρχος. Moreover, as Lohse remarks (*op. cit.* pp. 26–7), the fear aroused at Sparta in 396 by the scale of the Persian preparations is not inconsistent with the supposition that the Persians had already a fleet of 40 ships in 397, and the three years of Isocr. *Evag.* in which the king ἀφείλετο τὴν ἀρχήν are likely to be different from the three years of the *Paneg.* in which the Persian fleet was blockaded, and may be 395–3. Lohse's discussion of this point requires some modification in the light of the evidence from P that the visit of Conon to the Persian court happened not in the summer of 395 but in the following winter, but on the main questions of the date of Pharax' ναυαρχία and the distinction between the three years of the *Paneg.* from those of the *Evag.* we agree with him against Meyer.

The account of the democratic rising (ἐπανάστασις) at Rhodes in xi. 1–34 presupposes that the expulsion of the Spartans and the admission of Conon's fleet had taken place some time previously, the government of the island being in the interval in the hands of the Διαγόρειοι. Since the revolution is clearly assigned by P to the summer of 395 (cf. xi. 34 τούτου τοῦ θέρους), the expulsion of the Spartans can hardly have occurred later than the winter of 396–5. That P's account of this immediately preceded that of the ἐπανάστασις is unlikely, for there is no reference in xi. 1–34 to the Spartans, and the rising of the democrats and the expulsion of the Spartans belong to different years according to P's reckoning. The question then arises whether the expulsion of the Spartans took place before or after the events recorded in Col. iii. If these belong to 395 it would be necessary to suppose that the revolt of Rhodes from the Spartans preceded them, for there would be only a very brief interval of time (one or two months at most) between the arrival of Pollis and the democratic revolution. P would then confirm Diodorus' statement that the reinforcements from Phoenicia arrived after the revolt of Rhodes. But it is in any case more probable that Pollis' arrival took place in the summer of 396 (cf. iii. 9 and 21, notes); and if so there is an interval of practically a year between Cols. iii and xi, which gives ample time for the expulsion of the Spartans during this period. Unfortunately the remains of Col. iii are insufficient by themselves to show definitely whether the expulsion of the Spartans from Rhodes had taken place or not. On the one hand Caunus not Rhodes seems to be the head quarters of the Persian fleet; and if 'Αρταφέ]ρνη[ς] be read in iii. 37 the situation may,

as Meyer suggests, correspond to that in Diod. xiv. 79. 5, when Pharnabazus and Artaphernes came to the rescue of Conon at Caunus, Rhodes being still held by the Spartans. On the other hand xi. 9 and xv. 36 show that even after Rhodes had become the head quarters of the Persian fleet Conon was in the habit of visiting Caunus, and it is possible that a mention of Rhodes in connexion with the Persian fleet occurred in iii. 11–2. Moreover, if the expulsion of the Spartans occurred after the events recorded in Col. iii, there is a discrepancy between P and Diodorus as to the date of the arrival of the reinforcements, since Diodorus places that event after the defection of Rhodes. In itself there is nothing at all improbable in the view that these reinforcements played a part in causing Rhodes to revolt from the Spartans, but we have some hesitation, in consideration of the agreements between P and Diodorus elsewhere, in accepting so serious a divergence between them as to the order of the events described in Diod. xiv. 79. 4–8, especially as the placing of Cols i–iv after v–viii would bring P into harmony with Diodorus on this point. On the whole, however, in view of the advantages gained by the hypothesis that the arrival of the reinforcements preceded the revolt, and the inextricable difficulties caused by maintaining that the events in iii. 11 sqq. belong to 395, we prefer to suppose that the order of events in Diodorus is erroneous, and that the arrival of the reinforcements occurred in the late summer or autumn of 396, the revolt of Rhodes in the same autumn or the following winter, the account of the latter event being probably lost between Cols. iii and v.

The accuracy of Diodorus' narrative of the naval war in xiv. 79. 4–8 having been denied in one important particular, it becomes somewhat doubtful how far the rest of it is to be trusted. If the siege of Caunus was conducted by Pharax, this must certainly be referred to 397, not to 396. For apart from other objections to the supposition that his *ναυαρχία* extended to 396 (cf. p. 212), since Pharax is called *ὁ πρότερον ναύαρχος* (i. 31) in the year preceding the 8th year mentioned in iii. 9 and the arrival of Pollis apparently belongs to the 8th year (or at any rate to 396), it is very unlikely that he was the immediate predecessor of Pollis. And if another *ναύαρχος* intervened Pharax' term of office cannot have extended into 396. The probable chronology of the *ναύαρχοι* is in our opinion 398–7 (autumn) Pharax; 397 (autumn) to 396 (autumn) unknown; 396 (autumn) to 395 (summer) Pollis; 395 (summer–winter) Cheiricrates; 394 Pisander (cf. xv. 33, note). Hence P on the whole seems to support Beloch's chronology of the naval war against that of Meyer. To make P consistent with Meyer's view that the naval war began in 396, it is necessary to suppose that Pharax in Diodorus xiv. 79. 5 is a mistake for Pollis or his unknown predecessor. There is, however, as Meyer remarks, a good deal to be said for treating *Φάραξ* there as an error, for if the siege of Caunus began in 397, when Pharax was with Dercylidas in Caria, Diodorus ought to have mentioned it in his account of Dercylidas' campaign in xiv. 39, and the indecisive character of the operations on land, which ended in a tame avoidance of battle and a truce for further negotiations, ill accords with the hypothesis that the Spartans had in 397 so large a fleet as 120 ships in the Aegean, and were taking active measures against Conon. It is possible, therefore, to limit Pharax' period of office to 397, and yet to regard the naval war as commencing in the spring of 396, for apart from the mention of Pharax in Diod. xiv. 79. 4 there is no clear evidence that Conon came to Caunus before 396. The substitution of another name for Pharax in that passage would however still be compatible with Conon's arrival there in 397, for Diodorus' expression with regard to Conon (*διατρίβοντα δ' ἐν Καύνῳ μετὰ νεῶν τεσσαράκοντα*) is quite vague. And since the rhetorical exaggeration in Isocr. *Paneg.* 142 (cf. p. 211) is more excusable if the three years of the siege refer to 397–5 instead of 396–4, it does not seem worth while to reject Diodorus' statement that Pharax besieged Conon, though the number of the Lacedaemonian ships (120) may well be too large. The connexion suggested by Meyer between iii. 37 and the relief of Conon by Pharnabazus and Artaphernes (cf. p. 212) is therefore not very probable.

iii. 26. [ἀπὸ Φοινίκης (cf. Diod. *l. c.*) is unlikely, as Φοινίκων occurs in l. 23, applying to the whole fleet. Perhaps [ἀπὸ Σιδῶνος καὶ . . . ; but the division ἃς Ἄκτων is very uncertain. The name Ἄκτων is not known, and]ασακτων may be all part of the name of the Sidonian.

30.] . αρος: the vestige of a letter before α would suit γ or τ best, but is also compatible with κ, σ, υ, or χ. It is of course quite uncertain how many letters intervene between] . αρος and μὲν οὖν.

34. Perhaps καὶ διαβὰς ὡς τάχι]στα ποταμ[ό]ν, as proposed by Bury, who suggested καλούμενον in l. 35.

35. εἰς λίμνη]ν τὴν Κ[α]υνίαν: there was a large lake a little north of Caunus, which was connected with it by a river, i. e. the ποταμ[ὸ]ν τὸν Καΰ[νιον of l. 34, or Κάλβις, as it is called by Strabo xiv. 651 εἶτα Καῦνος καὶ ποταμὸς πλησίον Κάλβις βαθὺς ἔχων εἰσαγωγήν.

36. Κο[ίνωνος: the supposed κ has been corrected.

37.]ρνη[ς]: perhaps Πασιφέ]ρνη[ς], who is mentioned in xvi. 27 as having been appointed by Tithraustes to command the Persian forces along with Ariaeus, οἱ Ἀρταφέ]ρνη[ς], who, according to Diod. xiv. 79. 5, came with Pharnabazus to the help of Conon at Caunus (cf. iii. 23–6, note), unless indeed Ἀρταφέρνης there is a mistake for Πασιφέρνης, a name not known apart from xvi. 27.

40–3. Fr. 2, containing the letters]υφιλ[,]ασ[,]ηλθ[, and]εασα[, is placed here chiefly on the evidence of colour; the recto is blank at this point, and the proposed arrangement is by no means certain.

Col. v. 1–vii. 4 = chs. VI–VII. *Agesilaus in Asia.*

v. 1. The supposed stops at the beginning of this line and l. 3 may represent the tip of a letter. The second scribe sometimes fails to insert stops when he leaves a space, e. g. in l. 6.

4. ἡ μὲν [οὖν: a new section probably begins here. Whether the preceding lines concerned Agesilaus' preparations at Ephesus (cf. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4. 16–9) or events in another part of the world is quite uncertain.

7. π of στρατοπ[ε]δον is corrected, and the vestiges after στρατ indicate something more than ο. Perhaps the scribe began to write στρατευμα.

8. For Κα[ΰσ]τρ[ον πεδίον cf. Diodorus xiv. 80. 1 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀγησίλαος μὲν ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν εἰς τὸ Καΰστρου πεδίον καὶ τὴν περὶ Σίπυλον χώραν ἐδῄωσε τὰς τῶν ἐγχωρίων κτήσεις. The ὄρη in l. 9 probably refer to Sipylus. Xenophon does not state Agesilaus' route to Sardis.

9–10. Possibly ταξάμε[νος εἰς πλινθίον; cf. l. 34 and Diod. *l. c.* Ἀγησίλαος δὲ εἰς πλινθίον συντάξας τοὺς στρατιώτας. But though the πλινθίον must have been mentioned before l. 34, it would be more naturally introduced after the mention of Tissaphernes in ll. 14–6, i. e. in ll. 17 sqq., where the manœuvres of the march are described. Moreover the ξ of ταξαμε is very doubtful, and the correct division may be τὰ ὄρη τὰ . αμε . . .

13–6. Cf. Diod. *l. c.* Τισσαφέρνης δὲ μυρίους μὲν ἱππεῖς πεντακισμυρίους δὲ πεζοὺς ἀθροίσας ἐπηκολούθει τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. Wilamowitz proposes πεζοὺς μὲν πεντ]ακισχιλίους κα[ὶ] μυ[ρίους ἔχων, ἱππέας δὲ μυρίων ο]ὐκ ἐλάττους, and would bring the figures in Diodorus into agreement with P by emending πεντακισμυρίους into πεντακισ(χιλίους καὶ) μυρίους. But P and Diodorus differ elsewhere in regard to figures (cf. notes on v. 60 and vi. 21), and the ἱππεῖς may well have been mentioned before the πεζοί, as in Diod. *l. c.* and in xxi. 12 (though not in vii. 41). The restoration suggested in our text produces a conflict with Diodorus as to the number of the ἱππεῖς, but not necessarily in that of the πεζοί, since πεντακισμυρίων would suit the space. That figure is very high; but cf. Pausan. iii. 9. 6 γενομένης δὲ πρὸς

Τισσαφέρνην σατράπην τῶν περὶ Ἰωνίαν μάχῃ ἐν Ἕρμου πεδίῳ τήν τε ἵππον τῶν Περσῶν ἐνίκησεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ τὸ πεζὸν τότε πλεῖστον ἀθροισθὲν μετά γε τὸν Ξέρξου στρατόν. The agreement between P and Diodorus, supported by Pausanias, concerning the movements of Tissaphernes' troops is very striking. Xenophon (*Hell.* iii. 4. 21, *Ages.* i. 29) gives a wholly different account; according to him, the satrap expected an invasion of Caria, and dispatched his infantry thither and his horse to the plain of the Maeander, so that Agesilaus reached the neighbourhood of Sardis unmolested and never met the Persian infantry at all; cf. note on v. 59.

17–9. The restorations are due to Bury, who further suggests κατιδὼν αὐτούς in l. 17 and continues in ll. 20–2 ἅλ]λως καὶ κρα[τύνας τὴν τάξιν, ἐποιεῖτο δὲ τῆς] στρατηγίας [ἀπόδειξιν αὐτοῦ, a passing compliment to Agesilaus' tactical skill; cf. p. 123. That the πλινθίον was mentioned here is probable in any case; cf. ll. 9 and 34, notes.

22. The first α of μαχεσθαι is corrected.

24. σας· : or σασι without a stop; cf. note on l. 1.

34. πλιν[θίου: cf. vi. 35 and the passage from Diodorus quoted in l. 9, note. Diodorus proceeds to describe Agesilaus' arrival before Sardis and the plundering of the environs, including the παράδεισος of Tissaphernes; but the scanty remains of ll. 36–58 do not offer any points of connexion with his narrative, and it is not clear precisely where the battle described in v. 59–vi. 27 took place. Xenophon, whose account in *Hell.* iv. 22–4 = *Ages.* i. 30–33 is widely different (cf. v. 59, note), describes it as occurring on the bank of the Pactolus before Agesilaus reached Sardis, the environs of which were, according to *Ages.* i. 33, plundered after the engagement. Diodorus, whose description of the ambush in xiv. 80. 2–3 closely resembles that of P, represents Agesilaus as turning back (ἐπιστρέψας) after reaching Sardis, and places the scene of the battle ἀνὰ μέσον . . . τῶν τε Σάρδεων καὶ Θυβάρνων, the site of which town is unknown. Pausanias in the passage quoted in note on ll. 13–6 vaguely says that the fight occurred in the Ἕρμου πεδίον, which is also mentioned in Ephorus Fr. 131, possibly in reference to this battle. From vi. 29, where it is stated that Tissaphernes after his defeat retreated with his troops (ἀπεχώρησαν) to Sardis, it is probable that in P's account Agesilaus had passed Sardis before the battle, and ἐπιστρέψας in Diodorus is, as Meyer remarks, likely to be due to a misunderstanding, since he uses the same expression (ἀπεχώρησε) as P with regard to Tissaphernes.

40. A stop may be lost after]μαιως.

41. μαλ|λο[ν: the position of Fr. 3 containing the supposed beginnings of ll. 42–9 and 54–60 is not absolutely certain, and it might belong to an earlier column. The recto gives no help. The combinations μαλ|λο[ν and Ἀ[γησι]λα[ος and the fact that . ι [is the last line of a column are the grounds for placing it as we have indicated. If μαλ|λο[ν is correct, the iota adscript of εγγυτερωι is perhaps erroneous.

45. δ in the margin opposite this line seems to indicate that this is the 400th line of the MS. Similar indications of the successive hundreds are common in poetical texts, e. g. **223** and **841**; but the only parallel that we can adduce from a prose MS. of this period occurs in the Pherecydes papyrus (P. Grenf. II. 11), where ϛ in the margin opposite ii. 3 is more likely to mean the 600th line than the 6th section.

56. Perhaps τοῦτο]ν τὸν ἐνιαι[τόν.

58. There is a spot of ink in the margin before ε . [, which might represent]α, but may be merely an accident. That it is connected with δ in the margin against l. 45 is unlikely.

v. 59–vi. 53.

'(Agesilaus sent) . . . hoplites and [.]οο light-armed troops, and appointed as their leader Xenocles, a Spartiate, with instructions to form in order of battle when (the main

body of the army) marched past them. Agesilaus on the next day at dawn roused his army, and continued his advance. The barbarians accompanied them as usual, some assaulting the Greeks, others . . . them, others in loose order following them over the plain. When Xenocles considered that it was the moment to attack the enemy, he started up with the Peloponnesians from the ambush, and charged at a run. The barbarians at the sight of the advancing Greeks fled over the whole plain, whereupon Agesilaus perceiving the panic dispatched from his army the light troops and the cavalry in pursuit, and they in combination with the force which had issued from the ambush pressed hard upon the barbarians. They followed the enemy for no very long time, as they were unable to overtake them because the majority were horsemen or without armour, and after killing about six hundred of them they desisted from the pursuit, and attacked the barbarians' camp. Finding the guard not strongly posted they soon took it, and captured from the enemy large supplies, many prisoners, and much baggage and money, including that of Tissaphernes himself. Such being the result of the battle, the barbarians in terror of the Greeks retired with Tissaphernes to Sardis, while Agesilaus after remaining there three days, in which he restored to the enemy their dead under a truce and erected a trophy and ravaged the whole country, led his army forward again into Phrygia Magna. He no longer kept his soldiers formed in column on the march, but allowed them to range over as much of the country as they liked, and to plunder the enemy. Tissaphernes on learning that the Greeks were continuing their advance, gathered the barbarians together once more, and followed in the rear of his adversaries, at a distance of many stades. After crossing the Lydian plain Agesilaus conducted his forces through the mountains which lie between Lydia and Phrygia, and after traversing these brought them down to Phrygia until they reached the river Maeander, which rises at Celaenae, the largest city in Phrygia, and flows into the sea near Priene and (Myus ?). There he encamped the Peloponnesians and their allies, and consulted the auspices whether he ought to cross the river or not, and whether he should march against Celaenae or retreat. Since the sacrifices proved unpropitious for him, after waiting there during the day of his arrival and the next, he retired with his army . . .'

v. 59 sqq. With the account of the ambush cf. Diodorus xiv. 80. 2–3, which is somewhat less detailed, *ἀπέστειλε Ξενοκλέα τὸν Σπαρτιάτην μετὰ χιλίων καὶ τετρακοσίων στρατιωτῶν νυκτὸς εἴς τινα δασὺν τόπον ὅπως ἐνεδρεύσῃ τοὺς βαρβάρους. αὐτὸς δ' ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ πορευόμενος μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπειδὴ τὴν μὲν ἐνέδραν παρήλλαξεν, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προσπίπτοιντες ἀτάκτως τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας ἐξήπτοντο, παραδόξως ἐξυίφνης ἐπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. γενομένης δὲ καρτερᾶς μάχης καὶ τοῦ συσσήμου τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐνέδραν ἀρθέντος ἐκεῖνοι μὲν παιανίσαντες ἐπεφέροντο τοῖς πολεμίοις, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι θεωροῦντες αὐτοὺς ἀπολαμβανομένους εἰς μέσον κατεπλάγησαν καὶ παραχρῆμα ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον μέχρι μέν τινος ἐπιδιώξαντες ἀνεῖλαν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους αἰχμαλώτων δὲ πολὺ πλῆθος ἤθροισαν, τὴν δὲ παρεμβολὴν διήρπασαν γέμουσαν πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης Τισσαφέρνης μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις ἀπεχώρησε καταπεπληγμένος τὴν τόλμαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.* The general resemblance between Diodorus and P is very close, though except in the last sentence of the extract (cf. vi. 27–30) the verbal coincidences (which are indicated by the underlined words) are not striking, and besides minor differences there is a discrepancy as regards Agesilaus' tactics, since Diodorus represents him as bringing on a general engagement before giving the signal to Xenocles, while in P Xenocles chooses his own time for the attack, and is then reinforced by a portion of the main army. Diodorus' account has been generally supposed to be derived from Ephorus; and if so Ephorus must have been based on P; cf. pp. 135–7.

Xenophon on the other hand (*Hell.* iii. 4. 22–4 = *Ages.* 1. 30–33) gives quite a different colour to the engagement. The Persian infantry having been sent to Caria (cf. note on v. 13–6), only the cavalry, under an unnamed ἡγεμών, were engaged, at first with the Greek cavalry and subsequently with the infantry, while Tissaphernes himself is stated to have been at the time in Sardis and not present during the fighting. That Xenophon is referring to the same battle as Diodorus, though that has been doubted, is practically certain, for in both accounts the fight results in the capture of the Persian camp with much booty, and it is difficult to believe that if there had been two important victories, Xenophon would have omitted one of them; cf. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* ii. p. 207. Xenophon's account is followed in the main by Plutarch, *Ages.* 10, but with some variation in details (e. g. according to Plutarch Tissaphernes was present in the engagement, and Agesilaus' attack is described somewhat differently), which are explained by Sachse (*Die Quellen Plutarchs in der Lebensbeschreibung des Königs Agesilaos*, pp. 8–9) on the hypothesis that Plutarch was using Ephorus, who was based on Xenophon. If this view were accepted, it would follow that Diodorus' account was not derived from Ephorus; but Sachse seems to us to overestimate the extent to which Plutarch in his *Ages.* has used Ephorus; cf. xx. 37, note, and p. 126. Nepos (*Ages.* 3) also follows Xenophon, but Pausanias (cf. note on v. 13–6) supports Diodorus as to the presence of the Persian infantry. While Diodorus' story stood almost alone, and might be explained as a comparatively late invention, historians have naturally preferred to believe Xenophon; but the case is now much altered, and the alternative version of Agesilaus' victory found in P and Diodorus, which is clearly based on good evidence, has considerable claims to acceptance. The fact that Xenophon represents Tissaphernes as repeating in 395 the error which he had made with regard to Agesilaus' plans in 396, and again sending his infantry to Caria where they were useless, is decidedly suspicious.

60. The traces of the first letter of the line do not suit *ε*. εἴ̣ς τινα δασὺν τόπον (cf. Diod.) is therefore inadmissible. Diodorus gives the number of the στρατιῶται as 1400 in all. Since it is quite uncertain whether [πευ-], [ὀκ-] or [ἐπ-] occurred in the lacuna at the end of the line, we abstain from inserting a number before ὁπλῖται, especially as P and Diodorus differ elsewhere in respect of numbers; cf. iii. 23–6, note.

vi. 2. Ξενοκλέα: cf. Diod. *l. c.* and Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4. 20, where it is stated that he was one of 30 Spartiates who came out with Herippidas in succession to οἱ περὶ Λύσανδρον in the winter of 396–5, and was appointed one of the two leaders of Agesilaus' cavalry.

3. In the lacuna the βαδίζοντες were no doubt specified: probably they were Agesilaus' troops, e. g. οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας (cf. Diodorus), rather than the πολέμιοι; cf. ἐπειδὴ τὴν μὲν ἐνέδραν παρήλλαξεν in Diodorus. βαδίζοντες also suits Agesilaus' troops better than the enemy, although in the very similar account of the ambush against the Mysians in xix. 28 sqq. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν̣εδρεύ̣οντες, ὡς ἦσαν κατ' αὐτούς, ἐκπηδήσαντες κ.τ.λ., the subject of ἦσαν is the enemy. There is, however, this difference between the arrangements for the attack in the two cases, that in xix. 28 the troops employed for the ambush were left behind when the main army continued its forward march, whereas in the present instance, as appears not only from P's account but more clearly from that of Diodorus, the ambush was laid on the line of march of the main army, which would thus have to pass it.

4. [εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν (cf. xix. 22) is due to Bury.

5. ἃ̣[μα ἡμ]έρα[ι: cf. Diod. and τῆς νυκτ̣ός in v. 59 corresponding to νυκτός in Diod. It would be possible to read ἃ̣[παν τὸ σ̣τρο̣[τε]υ̣[μα] . [. . ., but the other reading is preferable, though τ]ὸ [στ]ρα̣[τε]υ̣μα is very doubtful.

8. ἐπε[. . . . .]υον: ἐπε[κώλ]υον (Dittenberger) is not long enough; ἐπε[τόξε̣υον necessitates the alteration of αὐτούς to αὐτοῖς, but cf. the error of case in l. 18. ἐπε[δείκν]υον αὐτούς is possible, but not very satisfactory.

vi. 9. *ἀτάκτ[ως*: cf. Diod. *l. c. προσπίπτοντες ἀτάκτως.*

21. *ἑξακοσίους*: Diodorus gives the number of the slain as 6000, which is no doubt an error, probably due to a corruption in the MSS. Cf. v. 13–6 and 60, notes.

28–30. Cf. Diod. and v. 59, note.

30 sqq. Diodorus (xiv. 80. 5) says only *Ἀγησίλαος δ' ἐπεχείρησε μὲν εἰς τὰς ἄνω σατραπείας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς οὐ δυνάμενος καλλιερῆσαι* (cf. vi. 51–2) *πάλιν ἀπήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ θάλατταν*, and omits altogether the autumn campaign of Agesilaus described in xviii. 33 sqq. Xenophon (*Hell.* iii. 4. 25) says nothing of the advance to the upper Maeander, but proceeds direct to the death of Tissaphernes and the negotiations with Tithraustes which led to Agesilaus' departure into the satrapy of Pharnabazus. The details provided by P are therefore new.

34. *Φρυγίαν πάλιν [τὴν] μεγάλην*: possibly P means to imply that this was the second invasion of Phrygia; cf. xx. 7 *τὴ]ν χώραν τῶν Φ[ρ]υγῶν οὐκ εἰς [ἣ]ν τοῦ προτέρου [θέρ]ους ἐνέβαλεν* (i.e. in 396), Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4. 12–5 and Diodorus xiv. 79. 3, where the first campaign of Agesilaus in Phrygia is described. The campaign of 396, however, took place not in Phrygia Magna (i.e. the interior) which was in the satrapy of Tissaphernes, but in Phrygia *παραθαλαττίδιος* (cf. xxi. 17) in the satrapy of Pharnabazus; and though the order of the words *εἰς Φρυγίαν πάλιν [τὴν] μεγάλην* may be intended to express that *πάλιν* qualifies *Φρυγίαν*, but not *τὴν μεγάλην*, a comparison with xx. 29 *ἀφικόμενος δὲ πάλιν πρὸς Γόρδιον*, where *πάλιν* seems to be used loosely for 'further' and certainly does not imply a previous visit to Gordium, suggests that *πάλιν* in vi. 34 merely qualifies *προῆγεν*, not *Φρυγίαν*.

35. *συντεταγμένους . . . ἐν τῷ πλ[ι]νθίῳ*: cf. v. 9, note, and Xen. *Ages.* 6. 7 *ὁπότε γε μὴν πορεύοιτο εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐξείη τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι εἰ βούλοιντο συντεταγμένον μὲν οὕτως ἦγε τὸ στράτευμα κ.τ.λ.*

39. *ἐ̣π̣η[κολο]ύθει ὄπισθεν*: a hiatus which can easily be avoided by placing *ἐπηκολούθει* after *αὐτῶν*. For other instances of hiatus cf. i. 4, note.

41. The lacuna after *στρ]ατιάν* may be filled up by *ἀμαχεί* (Wilamowitz) or *ἡσυχῶς*.

42. *κε̣ί̣μένων* by itself does not fill the lacuna; *καί* may be inserted after it, but is superfluous, and *τῆς] τε [Λυδίας*, though possible, is equally unsatisfactory. In the last five lines of this column, however, a blank space about three letters in width has been left in the middle of the lines owing to a roughness in the papyrus, and if this blank space extended as far as l. 42 *κε̣[ιμένων]* would be sufficient. But since it tends to diminish in size in ll. 49–50, it is not very likely that it reached as far as l. 42, though it seems to affect l. 48, where the restoration, which is certain, gives only 16 letters in the lacuna in place of 20.

44–7. Agesilaus no doubt followed the road taken by Cyrus; cf. Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 5–7 *Κῦρος δὲ . . . ὡρμᾶτο ἀπὸ Σαρδέων· καὶ ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυδίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ δύο ἐπὶ τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμόν . . . τοῦτον διαβὰς ἐξελαύνει διὰ Φρυγίας . . . εἰς Κολοσσάς . . . ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν εἰς Κελαινάς, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα Κύρῳ βασίλεια ἦν . . . αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ* (sc. the Maeander) *εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων. ἕως ἀφίκοντο πρός* in l. 44 was suggested by Wilamowitz, who proposes *[καί* followed by a second adjective (e.g. *καλλίστη*) *πόλις ἐστίν* in l. 46, with *κ[αταφέρεται* in l. 47. This verb is however much less suitable than *ἐκδίδωσιν*, and the lacuna in l. 47 may be filled up by *κ[αί* followed by the name of another town (Wilamowitz suggests *Μυοῦντα*). The coast at the mouth of the Maeander has greatly altered since ancient times, and Priene is now far inland and some distance from the river. The papyrus confirms the reconstruction of the ancient course of the Maeander in Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene*, pp. 8 sqq. Cf. also note on vii. 1–2.

51–2. Cf. the extract from Diodorus quoted in l. 30, note.

vii. 1–2. Agesilaus seems to have marched down towards the coast along the right bank of the Maeander, which river at this time probably formed the boundary between

Lydia and Caria; cf. the mention in l. 3 of the Lydians in the plain of the Maeander with Strabo xiii. p. 629 *ἡ δὲ Μεσωγὶς εἰς τὸ ἀντικείμενον μέρος διατείνει μέχρι Μυκάλης ἀπὸ Κελαινῶν ἀρξάμενον* (cf. vi. 45), *ὥς φησι Θεόπομπος, ὥστε τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ Φρύγες κατέχουσι τὰ πρὸς ταῖς Κελαιναῖς καὶ τῇ Ἀπαμείᾳ, τὰ δὲ Μυσοὶ καὶ Λυδοί, τὰ δὲ Κᾶρες καὶ Ἴωνες. οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ μάλιστα ὁ Μαίανδρος, τὰ μὲν διορίζοντες τῶν ἐθνῶν κ.τ.λ.* Wilamowitz proposes κ[αὶ Μυσοί, Κᾶρές τε καὶ Ἴωνες in l. 4, and would regard vi. 44–vii. 4 as the passage in Theopompus mentioned by Strabo. This restoration and identification however seem to us very doubtful, even if P is Theopompus; for *ἀπὸ Κελαι]ῶν* in vi. 45 apparently refers to the Maeander not to the Mesogis, about which Theopompus was speaking, and there is no room for anything corresponding to *ὥστε τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ Φρύγες . . . Ἀπαμείᾳ.* Hence we attach little weight to the general resemblance between vi. 44–vii. 4 and Strabo's allusion to Theopompus as an argument for the identification of the latter author with P; cf. p. 131.

If our restoration of vii. 39–40 is correct, Agesilaus spent a period of inactivity at Magnesia. The extant fragments of P do not mention him again until xviii. 33, when he goes from Lydia northwards to the Hellespont; but xviii. 37–8 show that our author had described his negotiations with Tithraustes, no doubt in the gap between Cols. viii and xi. The correctness of the position assigned to Fr. 4 is guaranteed (1) by internal evidence, since it clearly contains the transition from Agesilaus' campaign to the arrangements for the removal of Tissaphernes, (2) by the suitable combination *μάλ]λο[ν* in ll. 9–10, (3) by the evidence of the recto, which has ends of lines at the right point, (4) by the colour and texture of the papyrus, which agree with those of Fr. 7, containing Col. viii. Frs. 21 and 22 also probably belong to Cols. vii or viii.

Cols. vii. 4–viii. 42 = ch. VIII. *Death of Tissaphernes.*

vii. 4 sqq. P now turns, like Xenophon and Diodorus, to the supersession of Tissaphernes by Tithraustes and the assassination of the former. Xenophon (*Hell.* iii. 4. 25; cf. *Ages.* 1. 35) says merely *γνοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Τισσαφέρνην αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ κακῶς φέρεσθαι τὰ αὐτοῦ Τιθραύστην κατιπέμψας ἀποτέμνει αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν.* Diodorus (xiv. 80. 6–8) is somewhat more detailed: *Ἀρταξέρξης δὲ ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς τά τε ἐλαττώματα πυθόμενος καὶ κατορρωδῶν τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας πόλεμον δι' ὀργῆς εἶχε τὸν Τισσαφέρνην . . . καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς δὲ Παρυσάτιδος ἦν ἠξιωμένος τιμωρήσασθαι τὸν Τισσαφέρνην . . . καταστήσας οὖν Τιθραύστην ἡγεμόνα τούτῳ μὲν παρήγγειλε συλλαμβάνειν Τισσαφέρνην, πρὸς δὲ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς σατράπας ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολὰς ὅπως πάντες τούτῳ ποιῶσι τὸ προσταττόμενον. ὁ δὲ Τιθραύστης παραγενόμενος εἰς Κολοσσὰς τῆς Φρυγίας συνέλαβε τὸν Τισσαφέρνην διά τινος Ἀριαίου σατράπου λουόμενον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκόψας ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.* A fuller account of the methods employed by Tithraustes and Ariaeus to accomplish their object is found in Polyaenus, *Strat.* vii. 16. The account in P, which is unfinished at the end of Col. viii, was much longer still; and although in the scanty remains of Cols. vii and viii only the general outline of the story can be perceived, the agreement with Diodorus and Polyaenus is clear, and the accounts of both those writers are no doubt derived directly or indirectly from P. vii. 4–20 probably describe the complaints against Tissaphernes and the king's resolve to get rid of him. In vii. 21 sqq. we have the departure of Tithraustes and appointment of Ariaeus, in vii. 35 sqq. the message sent by Ariaeus to Tissaphernes at Sardis to induce him to come to Colossae, in viii. 20 sqq. the arrival of Tissaphernes with a bodyguard at Colossae, and his arrest while bathing at Ariaeus' house. It is clear that P directly connects Tissaphernes' fall with his want of success in the campaign round Sardis, as also in our opinion does Xenophon, in spite of Beloch's objection (*Gr. Gesch.* ii. p. 148); and it is noticeable that in vii. 4 sqq. there is nothing to suggest that Conon was concerned. According to Nepos, *Conon* 3, the supersession of Tissaphernes was the consequence of the representations

of Conon, who was sent by Pharnabazus to the king to accuse Tissaphernes, and both Meyer (*Gesch. d. Alt.* ii. 209) and Beloch (*l. c.*) accept Nepos' story and adopt the date for Conon's visit implied by him and Pausanias iii. 9. 2 (the winter of 396–5) in preference to that of Diodorus, who (xiv. 81. 4) places this event between the revolt of Rhodes and the battle of Cnidus, i.e. in the winter of 395–4, after Tissaphernes' death. But that P supported Diodorus' date admits of little doubt, for it is very improbable that Conon had an interview with the king himself before his visit to Tithraustes narrated in xv. 32 sqq., and in Justin vi. 1. 11–2 Conon's visit to the king is mentioned after the mutiny, which is now known from xvi. 29 sqq. to have taken place in the late summer or autumn of 395. Diodorus' date for Conon's mission is therefore preferable, as Meyer now admits; the motive was not the removal of Tissaphernes, but, as Diodorus says, the need of money for the fleet and the appointment of Pharnabazus as commander-in-chief.

vii. 15.]απαρ[: there is possibly a reference to Artaxerxes' mother Parysatis; cf. Diod. *l. c.*

16. That Fr. 5 containing (as we suppose) parts of ll. 16–24 belongs to Col. vii is practically certain, not only from internal evidence (e.g. the mentions of *ἐπιστ*]*ολάς* and *Τι*]*σσαφ*[*έ*]*ρνη*[.), but on account of the recto, which contains ends of lines like Fr. 4 (cf. note on vii. 1–2) and resembles the recto of both the other portions of Col. vii and Fr. 7, containing Col. viii, in having some white stains on the surface. The supposed junction in l. 18 is, however, not very satisfactory: for the vestiges at the beginning of the third line of Fr. 5 which, if our arrangement is correct, represent the second half of the *ν* of *ομολογουν*, would suit *ω* better, and in l. 22 we should expect *τὰς ἐπιστ*]*ολάς*, for which there is no room. Perhaps therefore Fr. 5 should be placed further to the right and nearer to the ends of ll. 16–24 or even lower down in the same column.

17. If Fr. 5 is rightly placed, *κατηγ*[*ορ*]*α*[.] is inadmissible, for the tail of the *ρ* ought to be visible, and the vestiges before *α* do not suit *ι*.

19. Perhaps *πα*[*ρ*]*ών*.

21–5. Cf. Diod. *l. c.* and Polyaen. vii. 16. 1 *Ἀρταξέρξης ἐπὶ τὴν Τισσαφέρνους σύλληψιν κατέπεμψε Τιθραύστην δύο ἐπιστολὰς κομίζοντα τὴν μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπιτρέπων αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, τὴν δὲ πρὸς Ἀριαῖον ὅπως αὐτὸν συλλάβοι μετὰ Τιθραύστου.* *ὅς* in l. 21 refers to Tithraustes. For *ἐπιστ*]*ολάς* cf. viii. 18 and 36. *ρα* in l. 23 is very likely *πα*]*ρα*, but though the supposed *ι* (or *η*) after the lacuna might conceivably be *σ*, there is not room for [*βασιλέω*]*ς*. *Με*.[. .]*αιον* in l. 24 is probably a proper name, perhaps that of another general; cf. *πρὸς δὲ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς σατράπας* in Diod. The second letter, if not *ε*, may be *α* or *ο*; with *ο*, the third letter must be *τ*. The word preceding may be *ἐπ*[*έμψατ*]*ο. συλ*]*λαβεῖν ἐκεί*[*νον* (cf. Polyaen.) suggests itself in l. 25, but the doubtful letter after *εκε* suits *ν* or *λ* (*ἐκέλ*[*ευσε*?) somewhat better than *ι*.

30–2. The ends of these lines, which are on Fr. 7, may be shifted one line higher up, but cf. the next note.

35. At the end of the line it is not certain whether the supposed *ο*, which is on Fr. 7, belongs to ll. 34 or 35. But the last letter of l. 34 must be *α*, which does not suit the vestiges of this letter.

36–41. Tissaphernes was at Sardis according to Polyaenus, *l. c. τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον κατέλιπεν ἐν Σάρδεσιν*: hence the army at Magnesia (l. 40) was probably that of Agesilaus, who would pass that place on his way down the Maeander to the coast (cf. ll. 1–2, note), and ll. 36–41 seem to refer to Ariaeus' message to Tissaphernes, corresponding to Polyaen. *καλεῖ Τισσαφέρνην ὡς ὁμοῦ βουλεύσασθαι δέοι τά τε ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.* That Fr. 6 belongs to this column is practically certain on account of the recto, which like that of Fr. 5, has ends of lines and white stains on the surface; cf. notes on ll. 1–2 and 16. We have assigned it to ll. 35–41 on account of the suitable combination *τὴ*[*ν*] *σατραπίο*[*ν* in l. 39.

The resulting combination Μαγν[η]σ[ί]αν in l. 40 is, however, not very satisfactory. The vestige of the supposed σ would suit γ, π, or τ better, and the traces of the supposed αν are compatible with many alternatives. Hence Fr. 6 may well belong to some other part of Col. vii.

37.]. ρια . [: possibly]'Αρια[, but the vestiges before ρ do not suit α very well.

viii. 3. That Fr. 7, which contains this column, is correctly placed admits of no doubt; for although the ends of a few lines of the preceding column preserved in it do not provide any certain combination with the rest of Col. vii, the mentions of Ariaeus, Tithraustes, and Tissaphernes and of the *ἐπιστολαί* establish its near connexion with Col. vii, and the texture and colour of Fr. 7 closely resemble those of Fr. 4, while the white stains found on the recto of both Frs. 5 and 6 and the rest of Col. vii are also present on the recto of Fr. 7. The writing on the recto is here too much effaced to allow a combination between the middles of lines on the recto of Fr. 7 and the scanty remains of ends of lines on Frs. 4–6.

6. *τα* is no doubt the termination of a numeral, e. g. *ἑπτά* or *τριάκοντα*.

18. *ἐπιστολά[ς*: cf. l. 36, Diod. *l. c.*, and the extract from Polyaen. quoted in vii. 21–5, note.

21. Μιλη̣σι : cf. Polyaen. *l. c.* *αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν λογάδων 'Αρκάδων καὶ Μιλησίων ἀφικόμενος.*

23. For κα̣]τῆρεν *εἰς* cf. xviii. 38, note.

26. *διατρίβω[ν*: cf. xx. 11 *διατρίβω[ν] δὲ παρὰ τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ* and Polyaen. *l. c.* *ἐν 'Αριαίου κατέλυεν.*

27–30. Cf. Polyaen. *l. c.* *ἥδη δὲ περὶ λουτρὸν ἔχων τὸν ἀκινάκην ἀπέθετο 'Αριαῖος μετὰ τῶν θεραπευτήρων συναρπάσας αὐτὸν καθείρξας εἰς ἁρμάμαξαν κατερραμμένην ἄγειν Τιθραύστῃ παρέδωκεν.* *νον* in l. 28 is very likely the termination of *λυόμενον* (cf. Diod.) or *γυμνόν*.

Cols. ix–x = ch. IX.

ix. 16 sqq. Whether Cols. ix–x precede or follow v–viii is quite uncertain; cf. p. 113. Frs. 8 and 9 are assigned to Col. ix owing to the similarity of the script, which is here somewhat smaller than usual, and the colour of the ink, which is exceptionally black; but there is nothing to show whether they should be placed above or below ll. 16–20. Fr. 33 also may belong to this column. The reference to Macedonia in l. 29 is remarkable; cf. Fr. 19. 8, note. In Col. x the ink is fainter and the writing much less compact. The subject there seems to be a favourable character-sketch of some important general or politician, but the fragments are unfortunately not sufficiently intelligible to allow of his identity being determined.

x. 5. *επιτηδευματ[* cannot be read.

16. The first letter of the line may be α, ο, or ω, but hardly *ε*; *ἑτέρους* Ἕλ[λ]η[νας is therefore unsuitable.

17. Perhaps π[ο]λ[έμου].

18. [ἡ]σ[υ]χ[ί]αν or [ἀ]π[υ]χ[ί]αν (but not [ν]αι[αρ]χίαν) may be read. If not σ or τ, the second letter must be γ or π. The line may have ended τ[οῖς *πράγμασι φαίνεται*, as Wilamowitz suggests.

19. *οἱ πλεῖστοι* is hardly long enough.

21. δη[μο]τικῷ τ . . . or δη[μο]τικώτερ[ο]ς στ[or δημοτικώτατος τ[is possible.

Col. xi. 1–34 = ch. X. *Revolution at Rhodes.*

'. . . every day Conon used to review the soldiers under arms in the harbour, on the pretext of preventing idleness from causing them to deteriorate in war, but really wishing first to render the Rhodians tranquil at the spectacle of his soldiers present under

arms and then to take action. When he had accustomed them all to the sight of the review he himself with 20 triremes sailed away to Caunus, as he did not wish to be present at the destruction of the Diagoreans, and Hieronymus and Nicophemus, his lieutenants, were ordered to take charge. These two waited during that day, and when on the next day the soldiers presented themselves for review as usual, marched some of them under arms to the harbour, and stationed others a little distance from the market-place. When the Rhodians who were privy to the plot considered the moment for action had come, they collected in the market-place wearing daggers, and one of their number, Dorimachus, mounting the stone from which the herald used to make proclamations, cried out as loudly as he could "Down with the tyrants at once, fellow-citizens". The rest when he called for help (?) rushed with their daggers into the council of the magistrates, and killed both the Diagoreans and eleven of the other citizens. Having accomplished this, they collected the Rhodian populace in an assembly, and when they had just met Conon returned from Caunus with the triremes. The authors of the massacre put down the existing constitution and set up a democracy, sending a few citizens into banishment. Such was the result of the insurrection at Rhodes.'

xi. 1. The revolt of Rhodes from the Spartans is ignored by Xenophon, but mentioned by Diodorus xiv. 79. 6 (cf. iii. 23–6, note) and Androtion, *ap.* Paus. vi. 7. 6 *Ῥοδίων τε τὸν δῆμον πεισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Κόνωνος ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων μεταβαλέσθαι σφᾶς ἐς τὴν βασιλέως καὶ Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίαν*. That the revolt was connected with a change of constitution was clear (cf. Xen. *Hell.* iv. 8. 20, where the exiled Rhodian oligarchs appeal to Sparta in 391), but it now for the first time appears that the two events were not contemporaneous. In the interval the government was in the hands of one of the leading families (cf. l. 25, note), and Conon's fleet had already been admitted to the harbour before the democratic rising took place. Conon, though supporting the conspirators, took no active part in their proceedings, preferring to be absent at the critical moment. The date of the insurrection is fixed by xi. 34 as the summer of 395; the expulsion of the Spartans must have occurred in the winter of 396–5, if not earlier still; cf. iii. 23–6, note.

3–8. *προφασιζόμενος μέ]ν, παρασκε[υάσας ἡσύχους* in l. 5, *ὅταν* in l. 6, *ἐπειδὴ συνήθη ἐποι[ησεν]* in l. 7 and *αὐτὸς μέν* in l. 8 were suggested by Wilamowitz. We prefer *ἐπεὶ δέ* to *ἐπειδή*, since a connecting particle is required between the two main verbs *ἐξήγ[αζε* in l. 2 and *ἐξέπλευ[σεν* in l. 9, and *δέ* in l. 5 only balances the preceding *μέ]ν*. A somewhat different sense, which seems less appropriate, is given to the passage if, abandoning *προφασιζόμενος μέ]ν* and placing a full-stop after *πόλεμον* in l. 4, we restore *παρασκε[υάζειν προθύμους] τοὺς Ῥοδίους [ἐὰν ἴ]δωσιν . . . ἐπιχειρε[ῖν, ἀεὶ φανερὸν ἆ]πασιν ἐποι[εῖτο] ὁρᾶν τὸν ἐξετα[σμόν· ἔπειτα εἴ]κοσι κ.τ.λ. αὐτοὺς παρόν]τας* in l. 6 is due to Niese. The lacunae at the beginnings of ll. 6–7 ought not to contain more than four letters, and perhaps *ἐάν* should be substituted for *ὅταν*, while in l. 7 *τα* may have been omitted by mistake.

9. For *εἰς Καῦνον* cf. l. 29 *ἐκ Καύνου*. Conon, having been admitted to Rhodes by the ruling oligarchs, was probably unwilling to be compromised by the action of the conspirators, and wished that the revolution should appear to be spontaneous.

10. *τῶν Διαγορείω]ν*: cf. l. 25. The Diagoreans (cf. Aeschin. *Ep.* 4. 4) or Diagoridae were an illustrious Rhodian family descended from Damagetus, king of Ialysus, and renowned for their athletic prowess; cf. Paus. iv. 24. 5 and vi. 7. 1–7. Diagoras himself won the boxing contest at Olympia in 464, the victory being celebrated by Pindar in *Ol.* vii, and his sons Acusilaus, Dorieus, and Damagetus, and grandsons, Eucles and Pisirhodus, were all famous athletes, especially Dorieus, who became the leader of the anti-Athenian party at Rhodes. Condemned to death with his kindred by the Athenians, he escaped to Thurii, and after fighting for some years on the Spartan side was taken

prisoner in 407, but released (Xen. *Hell.* i. 5. 19). According to Androtion, *ap.* Paus. vi. 7. 6, when the revolt of Rhodes from Sparta with which we are concerned took place, Dorieus was near the Peloponnese, and was arrested and put to death by the Spartans, whose conduct is now much more intelligible in view of the fact that the Diagoridae had clearly taken the lead in expelling the Spartan harmosts.

10–1. The Athenians Hieronymus and Nicophemus are known as Conon's chief lieutenants from Diod. xiv. 81. 4, where they are left in charge of the fleet when Conon goes to visit the Persian king. Νικόφημος is there called Νικόδημος, but Xenophon (*Hell.* iv. 8. 8) and Lysias (xix. 7) agree with P as to the form of the name. Concerning Hieronymus, Harpocration (*s. v.*) says ἄλλοι τε μνημονεύουσιν καὶ Ἔφορος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑνάτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ, but as he must have been mentioned in any detailed history of the naval war, this statement provides no argument for identifying P with Ephorus; cf. p. 126.

12. πα[ρέδροις was suggested by Dittenberger.

20. αὐτῶν has no construction and something has dropped out, probably τις or a word meaning 'leader'.

22. [ἴ]ωμεν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔφη, πολῖται, κ.τ.λ. This is the only speech in the papyrus; cf. p. 123. The position of ἔφη between ἄνδρες and πολῖται instead of after ἴωμεν is due to the desire to avoid hiatus; cf. ii. 34, note.

23–4. For such an accusative as τὴν βοήθειαν after βοήσαντος there is no near parallel, but [βο]ήθειαν seems inevitable, and the phrase is so easily intelligible that we prefer to regard the expression as one peculiar to our author rather than to treat it as corrupt; cf. p. 124.

26. ἔνδεκα: the moderation of the victorious democrats is noticeable (cf. τινὰς ὀλίγους in l. 32), and was clearly appreciated by our author, who here shows no trace of the aristocratic bias sometimes discernible; cf. i. 33, note, and pp. 122–3.

Cols. xi. 34–xii. 31 = ch. XI. *Constitution of Boeotia.*

'In this summer the Boeotians and Phocians went to war. Their enmity was chiefly caused by a party at Thebes; for not many years previously the Boeotians had entered into a state of discord. The condition of Boeotia at that time was as follows. There were then appointed in each of the cities four boulai, of which not all the citizens were allowed to become members, but only those who possessed a certain amount of money; of these boulai each one in turn held a preliminary sitting and deliberation about matters of policy, and made proposals to the other three, and a resolution adopted by all became valid. Their individual affairs they continued to manage in that fashion, while the arrangement of the Boeotian league was this. The whole population of the country was divided into eleven units, and each of these provided one Boeotarch, as follows. The Thebans contributed four, two for the city and two for Plataea, Scolus, Erythrae, Scaphae, and the other towns which formerly were members of one state with the Plataeans, but at that time were subject to Thebes. Two Boeotarchs were provided by the inhabitants of Orchomenus and Hysiae, and two by the inhabitants of Thespiae with Eutresis and Thisbae, one by the inhabitants of Tanagra, and another by the inhabitants of Haliartus, Lebadea, and Coronea, each of these cities sending him in turn; in the same way one came from Acraephium, Copae, and Chaeronea. Such was the proportion in which the chief magistrates were appointed by the different units, which also provided sixty bouleutae for every Boeotarch, and themselves defrayed their daily expenses. Each unit was, moreover, under the obligation to supply a corps of approximately a thousand hoplites and a hundred horsemen. To speak generally, it was in proportion to the distribution of their

magistrates that they enjoyed the privileges of the league, made their contributions, sent judges, and took part in everything whether good or bad. The nation then as a whole had this form of polity, and the general assemblies of the Boeotians used to meet in the Cadmea.'

xi. 38 sqq. This digression on the constitution of Boeotia in 395, which is somewhat irrelevant to the account of the factions at Thebes, and still more so to the war between Boeotia and Phocis, is the most valuable section of the papyrus, and disposes of several long debated problems. First, as to the four *βουλαί*; these were only known from Thuc. v. 38. 2 *οἱ* Βοιωτάρχαι *ἐκοίνωσαν ταῖς τέσσαρσι βουλαῖς τῶν* Βοιωτῶν *ταῦτα αἴπερ ἅπαν τὸ κῦρος ἔχουσι καὶ παρήνουν γενέσθαι ὅρκους ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅσαι βούλονται ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ σφίσι ξυνομνύναι*, and their relation to each other was uncertain, it being often supposed that the four *βουλαί* corresponded to four different districts. The present passage shows that Köhler (*Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad.* 1895, pp. 455–6) was fully justified in connecting them with the four *βουλαί* which the Athenian oligarchs in 411 proposed to institute *εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 30), and each of which was to consist of 100 persons and to hold office for a year in turn; and his conjecture that in the case of important matters, such as treaties, the four Boeotian *βουλαί* sat together is now completely established. The present passage, however, brings out a new fact of considerable value, that the four *βουλαί* were not councils of the Boeotian league as a whole, but existed in each of the separate states which formed the federation. Thucydides' expression *ταῖς τέσσαρσι βουλαῖς τῶν* Βοιωτῶν is therefore somewhat misleading, since the natural supposition is that he meant *βουλαί* of the league. There was indeed, in addition to the four *βουλαί* in the individual states, one federal *βουλή* for Boeotia (cf. xiii. 12), which met in the Cadmea and consisted of 660 members, contributed by the several states in the proportion of sixty *βουλευταί* for each Boeotarch, but it is clear that Thucydides is not referring to this; and that the state *βουλαί*, not the federal *βουλή*, possessed the supreme authority is indicated by the greater prominence given in P's account to the former, as well as by Thucydides' words *αἴπερ ἅπαν τὸ κῦρος ἔχουσι*, and the circumstance that the treaty in question provisionally made by the Boeotarchs depended for validity on the consent of each individual state, not on a resolution of the federal council. For membership of the state boulai there was a property qualification, so that the numbers of the ruling oligarchies must have varied in the different states, of which there were at least ten (*v. inf.*).

Secondly, as to the number of the Boeotarchs, Thuc. iv. 91 mentions eleven in B.C. 424 *τῶν ἄλλων* Βοιωταρχῶν *οἳ εἰσιν ἕνδεκα οὐ ξυνεπαινούντων μάχεσθαι . . .* Παγώνδας *ὁ* Αἰολάδου Βοιωταρχῶν *ἐκ* Θηβῶν *μετ'* Ἀριανθίδου *τοῦ* Λυσιμαχίδου *κ.τ.λ.*: but it was formerly disputed whether or not the figure eleven included the two Theban Boeotarchs. A strong reason for supposing eleven to be the whole number of the Boeotarchs was supplied by Poppo (i. 2, p. 292), namely that if *οἳ εἰσιν ἕνδεκα* referred to *τῶν ἄλλων* Βοιωταρχῶν exclusive of the Thebans *ἦσαν* not *εἰσίν* should have been written. The number eleven has also been disputed by Wilamowitz (*Hermes*, viii. p. 440), who wished to alter it to seven, corresponding to the seven Boeotian states mentioned in Thuc. iv. 93, a change which has been supported on other grounds and widely accepted e.g. by Cauer, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* iii. p. 647. Eleven is however the total number of the Boeotarchs in P (xii. 11–20), so that the correctness of the figure in Thuc. iv. 91 is vindicated beyond dispute. It is also noteworthy that P uses *ἄρχων* merely as a synonym for Boeotarch, and says nothing about an archon of the whole league; this officer therefore, who first appears in third century B.C. inscriptions, is not to be identified with one of the Theban Boeotarchs, as was suggested by Wilamowitz, *l. c.*, still less to be regarded with Freeman (*Hist. of Federal Gov.* i. p. 128) as the most ancient official of the league.

Thirdly, with regard to the members of the league, in 424 seven of them, Thebes, Haliartus, Coronea, Copae, Thespiae, Tanagra, and Orchomenus were known from

Thucydides' account (iv. 93) of the battle of Delium. P now gives the complete list, adding the names of, firstly, Acraephium and Lebadea, which Thucydides there referred to in the expression καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ τὴν λίμνην, and secondly Chaeronea, which in 424 was not yet independent (cf. xii. 14, note), and also provides some information about towns which were subordinate to the sovereign members of the league. What is still more important, we now for the first time learn the proportion in which the eleven Boeotarchs were distributed among the various states. Formerly all that was known was that Thebes at the time of the Peloponnesian war had at least two Boeotarchs and probably no more (Thuc. ii. 2, iv. 91). It now appears that Boeotia as a whole was divided into eleven μέρη or units, each of which provided one Boeotarch and sixty members of the federal βουλή, 1000 hoplites and 100 cavalry, and that these μέρη were distributed among the sovereign states not evenly, but in widely varying proportions according to their relative importance. Thus four μέρη were assigned to the Thebans, though only two of them belonged strictly to the city (cf. xii. 12–3, note), two to Orchomenus, two to Thespiae, one to Tanagra, one jointly to Haliartus, Lebadea, and Coronea, who appointed the Boeotarch in turn, and similarly one jointly to Acraephium, Copae, and Chaeronea. These units also provided a basis for calculating both the contributions paid by the states for the federal taxes, the number of judges sent to the federal courts, and for defining in general the rights and duties of the individual states where common action was required (xii. 25–8).

The constitution of Boeotia in 395, which P directly contrasts with the conditions existing in his own day by τότε in xi. 38–9 and the use of the past tense throughout, lasted until 387, when at the peace of Antalcidas the Thebans were unwillingly compelled to reconstitute the league, and even quite small Boeotian towns received complete autonomy; cf. Xen. *Hell.* v. 1. 32–6, whose statements are confirmed by the evidence of the coins. Besides the ten sovereign states mentioned by P, except Acraephium (unless the coin from Acraephium ascribed by Head, *Coins of Central Greece*, p. 44, to 456–447 really belongs to 387–374, in which case the exception disappears), Plataea, Pharae, Mycalessus, and perhaps some other towns of which the names are uncertain are thought to have had coinages of their own from 387–374 (Head, *op. cit.* p. xli). On the other hand the beginning of the period to which this constitution in the main applies may be placed at 447–6, when the Athenians were driven out of Boeotia and the league reconstituted under the hegemony of Thebes, which appears to have been the only Boeotian city to issue coinage between 446 and 387 (Head, *op. cit.* pp. xxxix–xl). Some changes, however, must have taken place between that year and 395 with regard to the states belonging to the league. Chaeronea was in 424 still subject to Orchomenus (Thuc. iv. 76. 3, cf. Hellanicus Fr. 49): it was no doubt made independent soon afterwards by the Thebans in order to weaken their ancient and most formidable rival. Plataea, which during the period of alliance with Athens had stood outside the league, did not rejoin it until 427, and that before that year two additional Boeotarchs were appointed by the Thebans besides the two who represented Thebes itself is not likely; cf. xii. 12–3, note. Before 447 the league had probably been in abeyance during the ten years in which Athenian influence was predominant, and even from 480 to the battle of Oenophyta Thebes did not occupy the commanding position in Boeotia which she had held previously. From 480–456 the coins of only Thebes, Tanagra, and Orchomenus are known (Head, *op. cit.* p. xxxviii), and from 550–480 the members of the league were somewhat different from those in 395. The numismatic evidence of that period (Head, *op. cit.* p. xxxvii) indicates seven cities issuing coins with the league-symbol, Acraephium, Coronea, Haliartus, Mycalessus (?; no coin of Mycalessus is ascribed to this period on p. 51), Pharae, Tanagra, and Thebes, besides Orchomenus which apparently did not adopt that symbol on its coinage before 387, a circumstance of which the importance has, we think, been over-estimated; cf. xii. 16, note.

39. The space between τ and ο of τοτε was, we suppose, left blank owing to a roughness in the papyrus.

xii. 1–3. Cf. Thuc. iii. 62. 3, where in 428 the Theban orator contrasts the δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν which existed at the time of the Persian war with the ὀλιγαρχία ἰσόνομος of Thebes in his own day.

4. προκ]αθημένη, if correct, is employed in an unusual sense, referring to a preliminary sitting. Generally the word means 'presiding over'. ἰδίᾳ κ]αθημένη is too long and would cause a hiatus.

10. Βοιωταρχον: so in l. 22, but in l. 15 Βοιωταρχας.

12–3. Scolus, Erythrae, and Scaphae were towns in the Parasopia east of Plataea and Hysiae, between the Asopus and Mount Cithaeron. Scaphae is called Σκάρφη by Strabo (ix. 2. 24), who states that its earlier name was Ἐτεωνός, and confirms the connexion of these three places with Plataea, τοὺς Παρασωπίους . . . ἅπαντας δ' ὑπὸ Θηβαίοις ὄντας (ἕτεροι δ' ἐν τῇ Πλαταιέων φασὶ τόν τε Σκῶλον καὶ τὸν Ἐτεωνὸν καὶ τὰς Ἐρύθρας). Pausanias also speaks of Erythrae (ix. 2. 1) and Scolus (ix. 4. 4) as belonging to ἡ Πλαταιίς, remarking in connexion with the latter ἀποκρίνει δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τῆς Θηβαίων τὴν Πλαταιίδα ὁ Ἀσωπός. It is thus clear that in much later times the boundary between the land of Plataea and Thebes was the same as it had been in the period which P calls vaguely πρότερον, contrasting it with τότε, i.e. 395. The question when these three towns became tributary to Thebes raises a difficult problem. The most natural interpretation of this passage taken by itself would be that Scolus, Erythrae, and Scaphae were traditionally united to Plataea, and only became subject to Thebes when that city rejoined the Boeotian confederacy on its capture in 427. A necessary corollary of this view would be that the right to appoint two extra Boeotarchs was only obtained by the Thebans after the fall of Plataea; before 427 the number of the Boeotarchs would be nine, not eleven. To this inference there is no particular objection, for eleven as the number of the Boeotarchs is not attested before the battle of Delium in 424, and in the scanty evidence hitherto available concerning the boundaries of the Πλαταιίς in the fifth century, there is nothing definite to show that Scolus, Erythrae, and Scaphae had ceased to be united with Plataea in the fifty years before 427. In 519 the Athenians made the Asopus the boundary between Thebes on the one hand and Plataea and Hysiae on the other (Hdt. vi. 108), and in 507, when Hysiae and Oenoë were captured by the Boeotians, both places are called by Herodotus (v. 74) δήμους τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῆς Ἀττικῆς, though whether Hysiae really belonged to Attica rather than to Plataea is doubtful. In 479 Scolus is indeed mentioned in Hdt. ix. 15 as being ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων, and Erythrae and Hysiae, which occur later on in the same chapter, also seem to be Theban and outside the Πλαταιίς. But, even if Herodotus is correct on this point, which is by no means certain, after the battle of Plataea the territory of the Plataeans may have been increased at the expense of Thebes, and at any rate during the period of the Athenian predominance in Boeotia, it is unlikely that Thebes possessed any territory south of the Asopus. After the battle of Coronea according to Thuc. i. 113 τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐξέλιπον Ἀθηναῖοι πᾶσαν, but whether the Plataeans suffered a diminution of their land is not known. Oenoë in 431 was on the frontier of Attica and Boeotia (Thuc. ii. 18) and Erythrae and Hysiae, mentioned by Thuc. iii. 24 in connexion with the flight of the Plataeans to Athens, are called by the scholiast *ad loc.* δῆμοι Βοιωτίας and have generally been regarded as not belonging to the Πλαταιίς; but since Plataea even when allied to Athens continued to be included in Boeotia, this evidence is not irreconcilable with the view that the Plataeans retained the south bank of the Asopus after-447 until the Peloponnesian war. An important fresh piece of evidence is provided by xiii. 23–8, where Erythrae, Scaphae, and Scolus occur in a list of Boeotian towns from which the inhabitants, owing to fear of an Athenian invasion, moved to Thebes. The date and circumstances of the removal

are not very clear (cf. note *ad loc.*), but it took place probably about 431; and Erythrae, Scaphae and Scolus, although coupled with three undoubtedly Theban towns, Aulis, Schoenus and Potniae, were, we think, dependent upon Plataea when the transference of the population occurred. For if Erythrae, Scaphae and Scolus were already in 431 separated from Plataea and joined to Thebes, it is very difficult to see what period is meant by *πρότερον* in l. 13.

In any case, whatever may have been the relations of those three towns to Plataea and Thebes in the fifth century, three such unimportant places as Erythrae, Scolus and Scaphae cannot have returned two Boeotarchs by themselves apart from Plataea, so that the Thebans are not likely to have appointed more than two Boeotarchs until the fall of Plataea in 427; and on the other hand it is clear from the agreement between P and Thuc. iv. 91 as to the total number of the Boeotarchs (eleven), that from 427 onwards they appointed four. Hence the manifest indication in Thuc. iv. 91 (cf. p. 224), that only two out of the eleven were *ἐκ Θηβῶν* in 424 is to be regarded as implying not an increase in the representation of Thebes between 424 and 395, but a difference in status and mode of election between the two representatives of Thebes itself and the other two, who were, as Thucydides shows, not *ἐκ Θηβῶν*, and may well, as Dittenberger suggested, have been citizens of Plataea and the three dependent towns.

14. *συντελούντων*: this is the technical term for indicating the dependence of the lesser Boeotian towns on the sovereign states; cf. Thuc. iv. 76. 3 *Χαιρώνειαν ἢ ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν . . . ξυντελεῖ* and Paus. ix. 3. 6 *τῶν δὲ πολισμάτων ὁπόσα ἐστὶν ἐλάσσονος λόγου συντέλειαν αἱροῦνται.*

16. *Ὀρχομένιοι*: Orchomenus, the ancient and most serious rival of Thebes, issued its own coinage without the league-symbol in the sixth century and in the first half of the fifth. No coins of the city are ascribed to the period 456–387, and the league-symbol does not make its appearance on the coins of Orchomenus till 387–74, though many of the types of that period are without it and have the traditional corn-grain of the city. On the strength of the numismatic evidence, and in particular the absence of the league-symbol, it has been supposed that prior to 447 Orchomenus was not a member of the federation, or at any rate was not closely connected with it (Head, *op. cit.* p. xxxvii; cf. Cauer, *ap.* Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encl.* iii. p. 645); but that Orchomenus should have remained outside the league for so long is not very likely, and the importance attached to the absence of the league-symbol from its coinage prior to 387 seems to us exaggerated, especially as the symbol is not always found on the coins of Orchomenus from 387–74.

Ὑσιαῖοι: this, as Wilamowitz remarked, cannot refer to Hysiae near Plataea, but must mean the inhabitants of *Ὕηττος* on Lake Copais, east of Orchomenus. It is, however, we think, not necessary to alter the text to *Ὑήττιοι*, as he proposes. *Ὑσιαῖοι* here probably indicates a real variation in the form of the name; cf. the ancient identification of Hysiae with Hyria mentioned by Strabo ix. 2. 12. Of Hyettus and its neighbour Olmones Pausanias (ix. 24. 3) says *κῶμαι νῦν τε οὖσιαι καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς μοίρας δὲ (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν) τῆς Ὀρχομενίας εἰσί . . .*; but the first statement is inexact, for Hyettus appears as an independent *πόλις* in inscriptions of the third century B.C. In 395, however, it was probably, as Meyer suggests, dependent upon Orchomenus in the same way as Thisbe and Eutresis were subordinate to Thespiae.

Θεσπιεῖς σὺν Εὐτρήσει καὶ Θίσβαις: that Thespiae had two Boeotarchs is not surprising in view of its extensive territory at this period; cf. Thuc. iv. 76. 3, where *Σῖφαι* on the Corinthian Gulf belongs to it. For Eutresis cf. Strabo ix. 2. 28 *Εὔτρησιν . . . κωμίαν Θεσπιέων.* Thisbe as well as Corsiae, a town further west, became independent in the third century B.C., as is shown by inscriptions.

17. *ἔνα δὲ Ταναγραῖοι*: in later times the territory of Tanagra was very extensive, including Eleon, Harma, Mycalessus, and Pharae (Strabo ix. 2. 14, Pausan. ix. 19. 4), Aulis (Strabo ix. 2. 8, Pausan. ix. 19. 8), and Hyria (Strabo ix. 2. 12); but, as Meyer observes,

the fact that Tanagra in 395 had only one Boeotarch indicates that it was then much less important, and probably most or even all of those six places at that time belonged to Thebes. Head (*Coins of Central Greece*, p. xxxviii) thinks that in 480–456 Tanagra aspired to the hegemony of the league, because it was the only town which struck coins in the name of the Boeotians as a whole; but this seems to us a very doubtful inference (Cauer *l. c.* wrongly states that Tanagra issued coins of its own in this period, and hence erroneously regards Tanagra as standing outside the league). That Aulis was Theban in B.C. 431 is made probable by xiii. 25, where it is mentioned together with Schoenus and Potniae, which were undoubtedly Theban; and of Hyria Strabo (*l. c.*) expressly says that it was formerly in the Thebais, while Pharae and Mycalessus, which were independent both before 480 and after 387, are much more likely to have belonged to Thebes than to Tanagra in the intervening period. Delium therefore seems to have been the only place of much importance belonging to Tanagra in 395; cf. Thuc. iv. 76, Strabo ix. 2. 7, Pausan. ix. 20. 1.

xii. 17–20. On the six minor states divided into two groups with one Boeotarch to each group cf. pp. 224–5.

20. Ἀκραιφνίου: the spelling of this name is subject to many variations. P's form Ἀκραίφνιον has hitherto been found only in Pausan. ix. 23. 5, 24. 1. Inscriptions and the older literature have only forms without the *ν*, ἡ Ἀκραιφία, τὸ Ἀκραίφιον, τὰ Ἀκραίφια, but Steph. Byz. states that Theopompus employed the form τὰ Ἀκραίφνια (cf. p. 126) and that Ephorus used Ἀκραίφνιος and Ἀκραιφνιώτης for the ἐθνικόν. Outside Boeotia the word seems to have been derived from ἀκραιφνής.

21–3. That the federal boule, consisting of 660 members, was divided like the state βουλαί into four parts, each of which held office in turn, is neither stated by P, nor is at all likely. Lines 29–31 apparently refer to general meetings of the federal boule in the Cadmea, and another mention of it occurs in xiii. 12, but the ultimate decision in matters of supreme importance rested less with it than with the boulai of the individual states; cf. p. 224.

23. αὐτοί: sc. the Boeotians.

24. The hiatus στρατιὰ ἑκάστῳ can be avoided by placing ἑκάστῳ μέρει after δέ; cf. i. 4, note.

Cols. xii. 31–xiv. 5 = ch. XII. *Parties at Thebes.*

'At Thebes the best and most notable of the citizens were, as I have already stated, divided against each other, one faction being led by Ismenias, Antitheus, and Androclidas, the other by Leontiades, Asias, and Corrantadas. The political party of Leontiades sided with the Lacedaemonians, while that of Ismenias was accused of Atticizing, because it favoured the Athenian democracy when the latter was exiled. Ismenias' party, however, was not concerned for the Athenians but .... Such being the condition of affairs at Thebes, and each of the two factions being powerful, many people from the cities throughout Boeotia then came forward and joined one or the other of them. At that time, and for a short period previously, the party of Ismenias and Androclidas was the stronger both at Thebes itself and in the boule of the Boeotians; but formerly that of Asias and Leontiades was in the ascendant for a considerable period and (had complete control of?) the city. For when the Lacedaemonians in the war with the Athenians were occupying Decelea and collected a large concourse of their allies, this party prevailed over their opponents both by reason of the proximity of the Lacedaemonians and because the latter were instrumental in conferring great benefits upon the city. The Thebans made a great advance in the direction of complete prosperity as soon as war between the Athenians and Lacedaemonians began; for when the Athenians commenced to threaten (?)

Boeotia, the inhabitants of Erythrae, Scaphae, Scolus, Aulis, Schoenus, and Potniae, and many other similar places which had no walls, congregated at Thebes, thus doubling the size of the city. But it nevertheless came to prosper in a much higher degree when the Thebans in conjunction with the Lacedaemonians fortified Decelea against the Athenians; for they took over the prisoners and all the other spoils of the war at a small price, and, as they inhabited the neighbouring country, carried off to their homes all the furnishing material in Attica, beginning with the wood and tiles of the houses. The country of the Athenians at that time had been the most lavishly furnished in Greece, for it had suffered but slight injury from the Lacedaemonians in the former invasions, and had been adorned and elaborated with so much extravagance that . . . Such was the condition of Thebes and Boeotia.'

xii. 32. ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον: i. e. in xi. 36–8.

34–5. Ismenias and Androclidas are well known as the leaders of the anti-Spartan party at Thebes at this period and instigators of the war with Sparta, for the furtherance of which they took bribes from Persia; cf. i. 33, note. The form Ἀνδροκλῆς which occurs here is a slip; Ἀνδροκλείδας, the correct Boeotian form uniformly employed by Xenophon, is found in xiv. 6 and 35, and the Attic variant Ἀνδροκλείδης in xiii. 11. Ἀντίθεος is not mentioned by Xenophon, who (*Hell.* iii. 5. 1) in his place associates with Ismenias and Androclidas an otherwise unknown Γαλαξίδωρος. Pausanias, however (iii. 9. 8), couples Androclidas and Ismenias with Ἀμφίθεμις, who is obviously identical with our Ἀντίθεος, while Plutarch (*Lysand.* 27) calls him Ἀμφίθεος. Of the leaders of the pro-Spartan party Λεοντιάδης (Λεοντίδας Plut.) is familiar, but Ἀσίας (or Ἀστίας as he is called in xiii. 13) seems to be otherwise unknown, for the Ἀρχίας who is associated with Leontiades in 379 (Xen. *Hell.* v. 4. 2, 6, Plut. *Pelop.* 5 sqq., Cornelius Nepos, *Pelop.* 3. 2) is not likely to be the same as Ἀσίας. With regard to the form of that name, Ἀστίας does not occur elsewhere, but ϝασίας is found in a Boeotian inscription. Κορραντάδας (cf. Κορρινάδας in Boeotian inscriptions) may, as Meyer suggests, be identical with the Boeotian general Κοιρατάδας mentioned in Xen. *Hell.* i. 3. 15–22 and *Anab.* vii. 1. 33 sqq.

39. Though a plural subject for ἔφυγον can be supplied out of τὸν δῆμον, the sentence is made much clearer by altering ἔφυγον to ἔφυγεν, as proposed by Wilamowitz. The reference is of course to the restoration of the Athenian democracy in 403.

xiii. 1–5. The general sense of this passage appears to be that Ismenias and his party favoured Athens not from any regard for Athenian interests but from selfish motives, in order that they might use Athenian support in the contest with the pro-Spartan party at Thebes; cf. xiv. 6–16.

10. [μικ]ρῷ πρότερον: i. e. ever since the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war when the ascendency of Ismenias' party caused a complete change in Theban policy, and Thebes which had been the bitterest foe of Athens suddenly became leader of the opposition to Sparta; cf. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* v. pp. 213–4. P's description in xii–xiv of the attitude of Thebes and the origin of the anti-Spartan league is much fuller than the short accounts in Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. 5. 1–3, Pausan. iii. 9. 9, Plut. *Lysand.* 27 and Diod. xiv. 81; and in particular his analysis of the motives of Ismenias' party (xii. 37 sqq., xiv. 6 sqq.) is acute and just (cf. i. 36 sqq., where he rightly treats the Persian bribes as a factor of secondary importance); but he tends to lay too much stress on the mere rivalry of the contending factions, and to obscure the underlying cause which brought Ismenias' party to the front, the dissatisfaction of Thebes with the Spartan domination in central Greece, which hindered Theban ambitions. Here, as in the case of the war party at Athens (cf. i. 33, note), P's sympathy with Sparta causes him to under-estimate the legitimate patriotic aspirations of Sparta's chief opponents, but it is noticeable that he does not attempt to cast aspersions

on Ismenias and Androclidas, who equally with the leaders of the pro-Spartan party at Thebes are among the *βέλτιστοι καὶ γνωριμώτατοι* (xii. 31), and the contest of Theban factions is described in quite different terms from the opposition between the *γνώριμοι καὶ χαρίεντες* and *οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ δημοτικοί* in i. 9 sqq.

xiii. 13. For the spelling *Ἀστίαν* cf. xii. 34–5, note.

14. [*τι*]*να*: there is room for three or even four letters before *ν*, but *χρονον*[*τι*]*να* is preferable to *χρο*[*νον τι*]*να* which seems the only alternative. The beginnings of lines tend to be irregular throughout the papyrus. The doubtful *π* before the lacuna can be *γ*, *ι*, *κ*, *μ* or *ν*.]*χον* may well be *εἴ*]*χον*, but *διὰ χ*[*ειρῶν* is inadmissible.

16. The vestiges after *και σ* do not suit *τρ*[*ατε*]*υ*[*μ*]*α* very well, and *τρατευματω* seems too long for the space between *σ* and the final *ν*. *σὺν*[*τα*]*γ*[*μ*]*α* (Bury) is also unsatisfactory.

22. *ὁ πόλεμος*: from the context, especially the mentions of Deceleia in ll. 16 and 29, this would naturally be interpreted as the Peloponnesian war. For some time we agreed with Meyer who suggested a connexion between xiii. 23–8 and the statement of Diodorus (xi. 81. 3) that the Spartans in the period preceding the battle of Tanagra *τῆς μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων πόλεως μείζονα τὸν περίβολον κατεσκεύασαν, τὰς δ' ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ πόλεις ἠνάγκασαν ὑποτάττεσθαι τοῖς Θηβαίοις*, and consequently referred *ὁ πόλεμος* to the war of Athens against the Spartans and Boeotians in 457. But while both writers allude to the increase in the size of Thebes, the explanation of it is quite different in the two cases, and Mr. Walker has convinced us that the natural interpretation is right, and that P ascribed the transference of population to Thebes to B.C. 431. Whether he was correct in his statement, particularly in the alleged reason for the transference, the fear of Athenian invasion, is not clear. The Boeotians may have expected reprisals for the treacherous attack on Plataea, and that Athens cherished hopes of recovering Boeotia is shown by the expedition of Nicias against Tanagra in 426 (Thuc. iii. 91) and the invasion two years later which resulted in the battle of Delium; but there was of course no attack upon Boeotia in 431, Attica being itself invaded, so that the impression conveyed by P's statement is not very accurate. It is noteworthy that in his account of the prosperity of Attica (xiii. 36–xiv. 3) P unduly minimizes the extent of the injuries inflicted by the Lacedaemonian invasions in the Archidamian war, which, as Thucydides shows clearly, caused widespread devastation. If fear of Athenian attack was the real reason of the *συνοικισμός*, it would be more satisfactory to place that event in the period after the battle of Tanagra and the withdrawal of the Spartans from Boeotia when the Athenians, according to Diod. xi. 83. 1, gained possession of all the Boeotian cities except Thebes, which would naturally have become a centre of migration from other parts of the country.

Of the six places mentioned in connexion with the *συνοικισμός*, Erythrae, Scaphae and Scolus were in the Parasopia near the Athenian boundary and in 431 belonged to Plataea (cf. xii. 12–3, note), while Schoenus and Potniae were Theban and respectively 50 and 10 stades north of Thebes (Pausan. ix. 8. 1, Strabo ix. 2. 22, 24, 32). A slight difficulty arises in connexion with Aulis, which was on the coast and much further away from Thebes, especially as in later times it was dependent not on Thebes but Tanagra. There is however not much doubt about the reading]*λιδος*, and there are other reasons for supposing that the territory of Tanagra was less extensive in 431–395 than later; cf. note on xii. 17.

23. *ἀπ*[*ειλ*]*εῖν*, though it gives a suitable sense, is very doubtful, for there seems to be no parallel for the metaphorical use of this word in prose, and *γ*, *μ* or *ν* can be read in place of *π*.

38. *μικρά*: this is an exaggeration; cf. l. 22, note.

xiv. 1–2.]*δεν* must be *μη*]*δέν* or *οὐ*]*δέν*, and *ὥστε* probably preceded, perhaps immediately after *ὑπε*]*ρβολήν*, while the word after *ο*]*ἰκήσει*[*ς* must be a comparative adverb. Bury suggests

ὥ⌈στε χώρας ἦν οὐ⌋δὲν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπί⌈ρα⌉τον, ο⌋ἰκήσει⌈ς δὲ καὶ κάλλιον ᾠ⌋κοδομημένας ἢ πα⌈ρὰ το⌋ῖς ἄλλοις ⌈εἶχον.

3. Perhaps το⌈ῖς ἄ⌋λλοις [Ἕλλησι; but then the repetition of Ἑλλη⌈ in the next line is somewhat awkward. Probably some of the letters in the lacuna were erased. Before *γάρ* ε unaltered can be read instead of the supposed deleted *σ*. *αὐτῶν*, like *αὐτοῖς* in l. 1, probably refers to the Athenians.

4–5. The subject of]. *ελάμβανον* is here more probably the Thebans than the Athenians; cf. xiii. 32. *του⌈ς⌋ | ⌈ἰδίο⌋υς ἀγρούς* is not unlikely.

Cols. xiv. 6–xv. 32 = ch. XIII. *War between Boeotia and Phocis.*

'The party of Androclidas and Ismenias was anxious to involve Boeotia in a war with the Lacedaemonians, because firstly they wished to overthrow their supremacy in order to avoid destruction at the hands of the Lacedaemonians on account of the Laconizing party, and secondly they expected to achieve their object easily, on the supposition that the king would provide money in accordance with the promises of the envoy from Persia, and that the Corinthians, Argives and Athenians would join in the war, for these states, being hostile to the Lacedaemonians, would, they thought, provide support from among their citizens. Having this policy in view, they considered that it was difficult to attack the enemy openly, since neither the Thebans nor the other Boeotians would consent to a war with the Lacedaemonians while supreme in Greece; but they attempted to incite them to make war by the device of persuading certain Phocians to invade the territory of the so-called Hesperian Locrians. The enmity between these two states originated as follows. There is a disputed area near Parnassus, about which they have gone to war in former times also; this is often encroached upon for grazing by both the Phocians and the Locrians, and whichever party perceives the other in occupation collects in considerable numbers and plunders the sheep. Many such quarrels had been provoked by either side, which formerly they were always in the habit of settling for the most part by legal proceedings or discussion; but on this occasion when the Locrians retaliated by seizing an equivalent of the sheep which they had lost, the Phocians at the instigation of the men procured by Androclidas and Ismenias immediately took up arms and invaded Locris. Thereupon the Locrians when their country was ravaged sent ambassadors to the Boeotians accusing the Phocians and asking for assistance, these states having always been on friendly terms with each other. Gladly seizing the opportunity, the party of Ismenias and Androclidas persuaded the Boeotians to help the Locrians, whereat the Phocians on receiving news of the action of Thebes withdrew from Locris and sent ambassadors to the Lacedaemonians asking them to forbid the Boeotians to enter their country. The Lacedaemonians, although they considered the story unworthy of belief, nevertheless sent a message ordering the Boeotians not to make war on the Phocians, but if they considered themselves aggrieved on any point to take satisfaction at a meeting of the confederacy. The Boeotians, however, at the instigation of the men who had arranged the plot and its consequences, dismissed the Lacedaemonian envoys with an unfavourable answer, and taking up arms marched against the Phocians. They immediately invaded the country, and after ravaging the land of the Parapotamii, the Daulii and Phanoteis, they attempted an assault upon these cities. They attacked Daulia, but retreated without having effected anything, and even suffered some slight losses; of the Phanoteis, however, they took by storm the suburb of the town. After this success they advanced further into Phocis, where they overran part of the plain near Elatea and Pedieis and the people of that neighbourhood, and then turned homewards. As they were passing Hyampolis in the course of the retreat, they decided to make an attempt upon it. The place is remarkably strong, and though they attacked the walls and displayed no lack of energy they achieved no success, but had to retire with the

loss of about eighty soldiers. Having inflicted this amount of injury upon the Phocians the Boeotians returned to their own country.'

xiv. 12–3. *καθ' ἃ* and the insertion of *δέ* were suggested by Wilamowitz; Blass had proposed *ἐπειδή* in l. 12 and made *μεθέξειν* dependent on *ἐπηγγέλλετο*, which is less satisfactory. The effects of the bribes of Timocrates and the anti-Spartan feeling at Corinth, Argos and Athens have already been described by P in ii. 1 sqq. Though the hopes of assistance from Athens were justified by the event, the expectation of help from Corinth and Argos proved somewhat premature, for these two states remained passive until the defeat of the Lacedaemonians at Haliartus had relieved Boeotia from danger.

14. The somewhat otiose sentence *τούτους . . . πολίτας* is corrupt as it stands, and the simplest course is to read *συμπαρα⌈σκ⌉ενάσειν* for *συμπαρ⌈σκ⌉ενασε*; but this does not yield a very satisfactory sense, and possibly some words have dropped out.

21 sqq. With regard to the origin of the Boeotian war, P's account, which is much more detailed than those of the extant authorities, agrees with Xenophon's (*Hell.* iii. 5. 3) and Pausanias' (iii. 9. 9) in attributing the ultimate responsibility for the outbreak to the party of Ismenias and Androclidas (cf. also Plut. *Lysand.* 27), and the occasion of it to a border dispute between Phocis and Locris. Diodorus, who (xiv. 81. 1) says merely *Φωκεῖς πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς ἔκ τινων ἐγκλημάτων εἰς πόλεμον καταστάντες ἔπεισαν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους συμμαχεῖν κατὰ τῶν Βοιωτῶν*, not only gives no details but produces the false impression that Sparta rather than Thebes was the aggressor, a view which is defended in vain by Grote, for though Plutarch (*Lysand.* 27) says that some regarded Lysander as the cause of the war rather than the Thebans, there can no longer be any doubt that the latter were the prime movers. But while P so far supports Xenophon and Pausanias, his account differs widely from theirs in point of detail. In the first place Xenophon states that the Locrians in question were the Opuntian Locrians, whereas according to P they were the Hesperian Locrians and the disputed area was *περὶ τὸν Παρνασσόν*. Pausanias speaks of *οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης Λοκροί*, thus agreeing with P, who is likely to be right on this point. In 394 both sets of Locrians were allied to Thebes and Athens; cf. Xen. *Hell.* iv. 2. 17, 3. 15. Secondly, while Xenophon and Pausanias represent the Locrians as beginning the dispute by encroaching upon the disputed area at the suggestion of their allies the Thebans, according to P it was the Phocians who originally made a raid upon the flocks of the Locrians in the debatable ground, and the Locrians only assumed the offensive as a means of retaliation. The subsequent invasion of Locris by the Phocians is also attributed by P to the instigation of a band of Phocians in the pay of the Thebans. There is further a minor discrepancy with respect to the precise action of the Locrians in the disputed area. According to Xenophon they were persuaded *χρήματα τελέσαι* (which is translated 'levy money' though *τελέσαι* does not seem to be the right word in the context), and the Phocians retaliated by taking *πολλαπλάσια χρήματα*. P's account on the other hand, according to which the dispute was concerned with the grazing of flocks, agrees closely with that of Pausanias, who says that the Locrians *τόν τε σῖτον ἀκμάζοντα ἔτεμον καὶ ἤλασαν λείαν ἄγοντες*. Whether it was really the Locrians or, as P asserts, certain Phocians who allowed themselves to be made the tools of Thebes cannot be decided with certainty. The intrigue becomes more involved in P's version, which brings out the remarkable ingenuity of Ismenias and Androclidas in making the Locrians appear the injured party, and displays an apparently very detailed knowledge of the circumstances. Meyer is disposed to prefer Xenophon's account on the ground that the Locrians, not the Phocians, were allied to Thebes, and that the Phocians fell too readily into the trap prepared for them. On the other hand, if the facts were as P states, an abbreviated account of them would easily give rise to the version in which the Locrians took the first step.

The appeal of the Locrians for Theban support (xiv. 37–xv. 3) is also related by both Xenophon and Pausanias, but neither of these writers mentions the embassy of the Phocians to Sparta and the unsuccessful mission of the Spartans to Boeotia (xv. 3–14) prior to the actual invasion of Phocis. According to them the request for Spartan assistance was made by the Phocians after the invasion had begun, and then the pretext for a war with Boeotia was eagerly seized. Pausanias adds the statement that the Athenians tried to prevent a conflict, *ὅπλα μὲν σφᾶς* (the Spartans) *δεόμενοι μὴ κινῆσαι δίκῃ δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγκαλοῦσι διακρίνεσθαι*, an improbable story which looks like a perversion of the proposals of the Spartans in xv. 9–11. P must have described the successful appeal of the Phocians for Spartan intervention in a later chapter after the campaign of Agesilaus, in the middle of which the papyrus breaks off; but the narrative in xv. 7–11 represents the Spartans as pursuing a pacific policy and showing no great anxiety to accept the opportunity for declaring war on Boeotia. This does not harmonize very well with Xenophon's eminently just remarks (*Hell.* iii. 5. 5) upon the reasons which the Spartans had for welcoming a war with Boeotia at this juncture, and, as Meyer suggests, P may be exaggerating the Spartan moderation. On the other hand Xenophon himself in *Hell.* iii. 5. 3 says—what is probably true—that the Thebans had to take the initiative because they knew *ὅτι εἰ μή τις ἄρξει πολέμου οὐκ ἐθελήσουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λύειν τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους*, and P's statement that the Spartans, while in doubt about the truth of the impending invasion of Phocis, gave the Boeotians the chance of settling the quarrel peaceably, is not inconsistent with their ready intervention when the invasion was an accomplished fact. The arrogant tone of the Spartan message, in which the Boeotians were treated as if they were subordinate members of the Peloponnesian confederacy is quite in keeping with their claim *ἄρχειν τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (xiv. 20).

25. *ἔστι*: on the use of the present tense here and in ll. 27 and 40, which has an important bearing upon the date of the composition of P's work, cf. xvi. 3, note, and p. 134.

xv. 3–4. *ἀγγελθέντ]ων* and *τ[ότε μέν* were suggested by Wilamowitz.

5. The vestiges after *δ[έ]* do not suit *με[τὰ ταῦτα*.

15 sqq. These details concerning the invasion of Phocis are all new, but of no special interest. With regard to the chronology of the war between Boeotia and Phocis, P's remark (xi. 34) that it began in the summer agrees with Pausanias' statement that the Locrians cut down *τὸν σῖτον ἀκμάζοντα*. Apparently the dispute between Phocis and Locris took place about May or June, the invasion of Phocis about July and August, and the battle of Haliartus about September or October.

19. *Δαυλίᾳ*: for the form cf. Strabo ix. 423 *Ὅμηρος μὲν οὖν Δαυλίδα εἶπεν, οἱ δ' ὕστερον Δαυλίαν*.

24. *Πεδιέας*: this town is mentioned by Hdt. viii. 33, but *Πεδιέας* here may mean the people of Pedieis; cf. the similar ambiguity in the case of *Παραποτάμιοι*.

26. The corruption of *παρ Υναμπολιν* into *προς Παρυην πολιν* was detected by both Blass and Wilamowitz.

xv. 32–xvi. 29 = ch. XIV. *The naval war.*

'Cheiricrates, who had arrived as admiral in succession to Pollis, having now taken over the command of the fleet of the Lacedaemonians and their allies, Conon manned twenty triremes and setting out from Rhodes sailed to Caunus. Wishing to communicate with Pharnabazus and Tithraustes and to obtain money, he went inland from Caunus to visit them. The soldiers at this time had many months' pay owing to them, for their generals paid them badly, as is their invariable habit when fighting for the king. In the Decelean war also, when the Lacedaemonians were the allies of Persia, money was provided on a very mean and niggardly scale, and the triremes of the allies would often have been disbanded but for the energy of Cyrus. The responsibility for this lies with the king, who

when he begins a war, dispatches a small sum at the outset and neglects the army subsequently, while those in charge of the campaign being unable to defray the expenses privately sometimes suffer their forces to disband. This is what usually takes place, but on the arrival of Conon and his declaration that the Persian cause would run the risk of ruin through want of money, of which it was unreasonable for the king's soldiers to be in need, Tithraustes sent some of the barbarians in his following with two hundred and twenty talents for the pay of the soldiers; this sum was obtained from the property of Tissaphernes. After remaining a short time longer at Sardis he then went up to the court of the king, having appointed Ariaeus and Pasiphernes to take command, and delivered to them for the purposes of the war the silver and gold that was left behind, which proved, as it is said, to be about seven hundred talents.'

xv. 33. On Cheiricrates, who succeeded Pollis as *ναύαρχος* in the late summer of 395, cf. iii. 21 and 23–6, notes. Neither *ναύαρχος* was known previously. Cheiricrates seems to have taken no active steps against Conon: probably the bulk of the Spartan fleet was at Cnidus; but Pancalus was stationed with 5 ships at the Hellespont, where he co-operated with Agesilaus; cf. xxi. 25–7. In the course of the winter of 395–4 Cheiricrates was superseded by Agesilaus' brother-in-law, Pisander, who was killed at the battle of Cnidus in the following July or August. Xenophon, who (*Hell.* iii. 4. 27–9, supported by Plut. *Ages.* 10, Pausan. iii. 9. 6) represents Pisander as appointed *ναύαρχος* by Agesilaus when the latter was in the *πεδίον ὑπὲρ Κύμης* on his way to invade Phrygia, i. e. in the late summer of 395 (cf. *Hell.* iv. 1. 1 and xviii. 38 sqq. and xix. 2, note), has clearly placed the beginning of Pisander's *ναυαρχία* too early.

37 sqq. This visit of Conon to Pharnabazus and Tithraustes to obtain money is not recorded elsewhere. Diodorus (xix. 81. 4–6) relates that Conon went to the king himself at Babylon for the same purpose, synchronizing this event with the Boeotian war. His date for Conon's journey to Persia conflicts with that of Nepos (*Conon* 3) and Pausanias (iii. 9. 2), who imply that it took place in the winter of 396–5; but the correctness of Diodorus' date is now amply vindicated (cf. note on vii. 4), and Conon's journey to Babylon is to be assigned to the late autumn of 395 or winter of 395–4. That he should have found it necessary to go to the king to obtain money is not at all surprising, for the 220 talents which he received from Tithraustes cannot have been sufficient to make up the arrears of many months' pay upon a fleet of over 100 triremes and numerous Greek mercenaries on land, and the serious mutiny described in xvi. 29 sqq. shows the dangers to which he was exposed so long as he was ill provided with funds.

xvi. 2–4. This sentence seems to be the origin of Justin's remark (vi. 2. 11) with regard to Conon's soldiers, *quos praefecti regis fraudare stipendio soliti erant*; cf. xvi. 29, note.

3. *ἔθ[ος] ἐστίν*: the use of the present tense here and in ll. 9–16 is important as an indication that this history was composed before the fall of the Persian empire; cf. xiv. 25, 27, 40, xix. 5 and p. 122.

5. *Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἦσαν*: the hiatus can be avoided by reading *Λακεδαιμονίοι(ς)*, as Wilamowitz proposes. Cf. i. 4, note.

7. Cf. Isocr. *Panegyr.* 142 *τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ* (sc. the king) *πολλάκις ἂν διελύθησαν* (sc. *οἱ στρατιῶται*).

14. *ν* of *ενιοτε* is corrected from *κ*.

17. *αν* of *αυτον* is corrected. At the end of the line the *υ* of *συν* is written above the *ν*.

24–6. Tithraustes, having fulfilled the objects of his mission, the removal of Tissaphernes and the necessary arrangements for the continuance of the war, had no justification for remaining in Lydia; cf. Meyer, *op. cit.* v. p. 249. While Pharnabazus

was at Conon's request made commander-in-chief of the Persian forces (Diod. xiv. 81. 6; cf. vii. 4, note) and acted as such in 394–3, the successor of Tissaphernes as satrap was Tiribazus, who is first heard of in the winter of 393–2 (Xen. *Hell.* iv. 8. 12).

27. For Ariaeus cf. vii. 36 and vii. 4, note. From Xen. *Hell.* iv. 1. 27, it appears that he revolted from Persia in the course of the winter of 395–4. Pasiphernes was perhaps referred to in iii. 37, but is not mentioned by the other authorities, unless he is identical with the general whom Diodorus calls Artaphernes; cf. iii. 37, note.

Cols. xvi. 29–xviii. 33 = ch. XV. *Mutiny of Conon's forces.*

'The Cypriots who had sailed with Conon to Caunus, persuaded by certain persons who falsely asserted that there was no intention to give them the arrears of their pay, but that preparations were only being made for discharging the debts of the crews and marines, were filled with indignation, and having met in assembly elected as their leader a man of Carpasian stock, and gave him a body-guard of two soldiers from each ship . . . Conon after hearing their story urged them not to believe that (one section would be favoured), assuring them that they would all alike obtain their pay. Having given this answer, he said that he wished to make it known to the other soldiers also, whereupon the leader of the Cypriots, the Carpasian, followed him towards the main body of the troops. They started out in company, and when they were passing the gates Conon, being in front, came outside the wall first, but the Carpasian while he was going out at the gates was seized without Conon's consent by some of the Messenians in Conon's following, who wished to detain him in the city in order that he might be punished for his offences. The Cypriots who were accompanying him laid hold of the Carpasian and prevented the Messenians from arresting him, and the contingent of the 600, perceiving the fight, also came to the help of their leader. Conon . . . (went back) to the city, while the Cypriots attacked and drove off the Messenians who had seized the Carpasian, and being persuaded that Conon's plans with regard to the distribution of the pay were altogether (unjust), thereupon embarked on the triremes with the object, as some said, of taking up the Cypriots at Rhodes and sailing to Cyprus. Leaving . . ., and conveying with them the Cypriots who consented to come, they marched against the acropolis in order to destroy the power of Conon, whom they regarded as the cause of all their troubles . . . When the Cypriots landed at Caunus, Conon came to Leonymus the . . . and declared that he alone could save the king's cause, for if Leonymus would consent to give him the Greek guards protecting Caunus and as many Carians as possible, he would put an end to the mutiny in the camp. Leonymus having bidden him take as many soldiers as he wished, he remained inactive for that day, since it was already near sunset; but on the next before dawn he took a large number of the Carians and all the Greeks, led them out of the city, and proceeded to post some of them round the outside of the camp, others . . . by the ships and seashore. Having done this and given orders to proclaim that each soldier should go . . . he captured the Carpasian and sixty of the other Cypriots, whom he put to death, while the leader was crucified. The Cypriots who were left at Rhodes were enraged on hearing of this, and in their indignation first attacked and drove out the officers whom Conon had appointed, and then leaving the harbour caused a great tumult and riot among the Rhodians. Conon, however, arrived from Caunus, and having arrested their leaders put them to death, distributing pay among the remainder. Thus the king's camp, after it had reached a condition of extreme peril, was restored to peace by Conon and his energetic measures.'

xvi. 29 sqq. These Cypriot mercenaries were a land force, as appears from the contrast between them and the *ὑπηρεσίαι* and *ἐπιβάται* in ll. 34–5. The *ἐξ[ακοσ]ίων [σύνταγμα]*

in xvii. 24 seems to be part of them, but that restoration is far from certain. The mutiny is only mentioned elsewhere by Justin (vi. 2. 11) *Sed Cononem seditio militum invadit, quos praefecti regis fraudare stipendio soliti erant : eo instantius debita poscentibus quo graviorem sub magno duce militiam praesumebant.* The sentence *quos praefecti . . . erant* closely resembles xvi. 2–4, and P is probably the ultimate source of Justin's reference to the mutiny.

xvi. 31. The correction of *ουτω*, which makes an extremely awkward construction, to *υπο* is due to Wilamowitz.

37. *Καρπασέα* : it is rather curious that P does not mention his name, for the narrative of the mutiny is conspicuous for its wealth of detail, which is likely to have been obtained from an eyewitness. The omission may however, as Meyer remarks, be intentional, implying contempt ; cf. xvii. 16 *τοῦ δὲ ἀ[νθ]ρώπου τοῦ Καρπασέως*. With regard to the form of the adjective, the agreement between the papyrus and Theopompus (Fr. 93) provides a strong argument for identifying him with our author ; cf. p. 131.

xvii. 1. That the separate fragment containing the middles of ll. 1–8 belongs to the upper part of this column is made certain by its colour and the mention of Conon in l. 3. The exact position is then fixed by the recto, which has the beginning of a new section *ἀπ[ηλ(ιώτου) ἐχ]ο(μένου) ἐγβ(αίνοντος)* partly on this fragment, partly on the piece containing the rest of Col. xvii.

5. *]ραιει* : *α* can be read in place of the first *ε*. *αιει* is perhaps a separate word (=*ἀεί*) ; cf. *αιει* in iii. 13.

6. *περὶ τὸ[ν μισ]θόν* cannot be read. At the end of the line *α* is possible instead of *σ* . , but there is not room for *α[κου]σας*, and the division *α|[κουσας* would make the line too short. Bury suggests *σι[ω]πῇ*.

8–9. The general sense of Conon's answer is clearly that in the distribution of the money no one section of the troops would be favoured, but all would receive their share. In l. 8 the doubtful *λ* may be *κ* or *ν* or possibly *τ* ; with the last reading *[οὐδένα πλεον]εκτ[ή]σ[ειν* is possible. Line 9 requires something like *πάν[τας ἔλεγε τὸν μισθὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης]ς κομιεῖσθαι*. The letter before *κομιεῖσθαι*, if not *σ*, can only be *γ*.

10–1. *ποιησάμενος* is due to Bury. Wilamowitz suggested *ταύτην [δὲ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις] ἔφασκεν βούλεσθαι [δ]ια[δηλῶσαι στρατίωτ]αις*, which no doubt expresses the sense correctly, and most of which we have adopted. The letter before *ις* in l. 11 cannot be *α*.

12. *ὁ Καρπα]σε[ὺς αὐτῷ]* is due to Wilamowitz.

24. *ἐξ[ακοσ]ίων [σύνταγμα]* is very doubtful, especially as *ακοσ* is rather short for the first lacuna, which has room for 5 letters, and this supposed corps is not mentioned elsewhere. Perhaps *ἐξ* followed by a place-name should be read.

25. Something like *[ὡς εἶδε] π[ριστάντας]* would suit the sense.

26. *τὴν πόλιν* : sc. Caunus.

28. *ἀπέκρο]υσαν* : the *υ* is extremely doubtful, but *α* and *ε* are inadmissible.

29. Perhaps *π[αρὰ τὸ δίκαιον τ]όν*, if *παρεσκευάσθαι* is middle. If it is passive, *διά* is probable before *τ]όν*. In xvi. 33 *παρασκευάζονται* is more probably middle, but may be passive.

31. *ἐπ[ὶ ταύταις τ]αῖς* was suggested by Wilamowitz. *ὥς γέ τινες ἔλεγον* seems to refer to the statements of the Cypriots, and is not, we think, to be interpreted as a reservation on the part of the author, for which *τινες λέγουσι* would be expected ; cf. ii. 1–2.

33 sqq. The narrative becomes very obscure at this point. *τῆς Αλαν[. .]νιοιου* seems to be corrupt ; there is not much doubt about the reading *νιοιου* ; the only possible alternatives to *οι* are *οπ* or *ωι*, but these are less suitable. *τῇ Σαλαμ[εῖ]νι* could be read, but yields no sense, and that the mutineers reached Cyprus is unlikely, since it is clear from xviii. 1–22 that they soon returned to Caunus, and *ὥς γέ τινες ἔλεγον* indicates that they did not carry out their original plans in full. Assuming that *Αλαν[. .]νιοιου* is the name of an unknown

place, this was perhaps situated in Rhodes, for παρακ[ομίσαν]τες, if correct, seems to refer back to τοὺς ἐκ] τῆς Ῥόδου παραλαβόν[τε]ς, and if τ[οῦ Κόνωνος] (Wilamowitz) is right in l. 36 the acropolis might be that of Rhodes. On the other hand if Ἀλαν . . . was in Rhodes we should expect the statement that the mutineers sailed thither, whereas ἀποπλ]εύσαντες or ἐκπλ]εύσαντες can hardly be avoided in the light of the following genitive, even though the omission of ἀπό before τῆς is not in accordance with our author's usage; cf. xviii. 1–2 ἀ]ποπλεύσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς . . . Moreover, the account in xviii. 23–8 of the proceedings of the Cypriots who were left at Rhodes does not harmonize at all well with the view that the acropolis of the city of Rhodes had been attacked previously. It is therefore very doubtful whether the mutineers sailed as far as Rhodes, and possibly the acropolis and the supposed place Αλαν . . . were in the vicinity of Caunus.

37. αὐτοῖς was suggested by Wilamowitz.

xviii. 2. The letter after τῆς might be α, and it is conceivable that the name Αλαν[. .]νιοιου (xvii. 33) recurred here; but several other letters, e. g. δ, ε, or σ, are equally admissible. The verb lost probably had the sense of 'returned', sc. to Caunus.

3. If τοῖς is not an error for ταῖς, some part of the gear of the triremes is probably referred to, perhaps ἱστίοις; cf. Conon's capture of the μεγάλα τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν ἱστία after Aegospotami (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 1. 29).

4. κατηγμέ[νων τῶν Κυπρίων: κατηγμέ[νος is unlikely, for there is no indication that Conon had left Caunus, and Leonymus was clearly posted in the immediate neighbourhood of the city.

5. Perhaps τὸν τ[ῶν πεζῶν ἄρχοντα, as Wilamowitz suggests.

αὐτῷ ὅτι: for the hiatus cf. i. 4, note. αὐτῷ can be omitted without difficulty.

18. Some word like προσήγαγε is probable in the lacuna.

19. Wilamowitz suggests τ[ὸν κήρυκα βαί]νειν, but a compound of βαίνειν would rather be expected.

20. Wilamowitz proposes τὴ[ν ἑαυτοῦ, Bury τὴ[ν σκηνήν.

24. Ῥόδῳ ἠγανάκτ[ουν: another hiatus; cf. l. 5.

30–3. With this favourable criticism of Conon cf. xvi. 8 διὰ τὴν Κύρου προθυμίαν, xx. 35 διὰ τὴν Ῥαθάνου προθυμίαν, and p. 123.

Cols. xviii. 33–xxi. 39 = chs. XVI–XVII. *Agesilaus in Asia.*

'While Agesilaus was marching towards the Hellespont with the army of the Lacedaemonians and their allies, as long as he was passing through Lydia he did no injury to the inhabitants, wishing to abide by the truce made with Tithraustes. But when he reached the country of Pharnabazus, he plundered and ravaged the land as he advanced. Then crossing the plain of Thebe and the so-called plain of Apia he invaded Mysia, and gave urgent orders to the Mysians to take up arms on his side; for most of the Mysians are autonomous and not subjects of the king. Those Mysians who elected to join the expedition suffered no injury from him, but he laid waste the land of the rest. When in the course of his advance he came to about the middle of the so-called Mysian Olympus, seeing that the pass was difficult and narrow, and being anxious to cross it in safety, he sent an envoy to the Mysians, and having made a truce with them began to lead his forces through the country. The Mysians however, after allowing many of the Peloponnesians and their allies to go through, attacked the rear-guard and struck down some of the soldiers, who were not in regular order owing to the confined space. Agesilaus encamped his army and remained inactive for the rest of that day while he was performing the due rites for the dead (about fifty of the soldiers had perished), and on the day following, having posted a large number of the so-called Dercylidean mercenaries in an ambush, again started on the march with his army. The Mysians all thought that Agesilaus was departing in

consequence of the loss received on the previous day, and coming out of their villages began to pursue the army with the intention of attacking the rear-guard as before; whereupon the Greeks in the ambush, when the enemy came up to them, charged out and attacked them at close quarters. The Mysian leaders and those in the forefront of the pursuit perished in the sudden onslaught of the Greeks, while the main body perceiving the losses of their comrades in front fled home to their villages. On receipt of the news Agesilaus wheeled round, and led his army back by the same road until he joined the force which had been in ambush, and pitched his camp on the spot where they had encamped on the previous day. Afterwards the Mysians, to whom the dead severally belonged, sent heralds and . . . took away the bodies under a truce, more than a hundred and thirty being killed. Agesilaus after obtaining guides from the villages and giving his soldiers a rest of [.] days led his army forward, and having brought them down into the country of the Phrygians (not that part which he had invaded in the previous summer but another which was unplundered), proceeded to lay it waste under the guidance of Spithradates and his son. Spithradates was by race a Persian, who for some time lived with Pharnabazus and was in his service, but having subsequently quarrelled with him, and being afraid that he would be seized and come to harm, took refuge for the moment at Cyzicus, and afterwards presented himself to Agesilaus with his son Megabates, who was young and handsome. When this happened, Agesilaus received them favourably, chiefly for the sake of the youth to whom he is said to have been much attached, but partly also on account of Spithradates, who he hoped would act as guide of the expedition and be useful in other ways. For these reasons they obtained a warm welcome. Continuing the onward march of his army and plundering the country of Pharnabazus, Agesilaus reached the town called Leonton Cephalae; and after making several assaults, but without success, moved his forces and led them forward, plundering and laying waste the unravaged part of the country. Arriving subsequently at Gordium, a town built upon a mound and strongly fortified, he encamped his forces and remained there six days, making assaults upon the enemy and keeping his soldiers from dispersing by affording them numerous comforts. When he failed to overpower the place owing to the energy of Rhathanes, a Persian by race, who was in command of it, he put his soldiers in motion and led them on, being urged by Spithradates to enter Paphlagonia. He next led the Peloponnesians and their allies forward to the borders of Phrygia and Paphlagonia, and encamped his army there, sending Spithradates himself in advance. The latter having gone on and come to terms with the Paphlagonians returned with ambassadors from them. Agesilaus made an alliance with the Paphlagonians and then retired with all speed in the direction of the sea, being afraid that there would be a lack of supplies in the winter. He did not march by the same road as that by which he had come, but by another, as he thought that it would be easier for his soldiers to cross (Bithynia). Gyes . . . sent him . . . horsemen and more than two thousand footsoldiers. Having conducted the army to Cius in Mysia, he first remained there ten days, and again harried the Mysians in revenge for their treachery at Olympus, and then led the Greeks forward through Phrygia on the seacoast, where he attacked a place called Miletou Teichos, but being unable to capture it withdrew his forces. As he was marching along the river Rhyndacus he arrived at Lake Dascylitis, near which lies Dascylium, an extremely strong place and fortified by the king, where Pharnabazus was said to store all his silver and gold. Having encamped his army there, he summoned Pancalus, who had sailed with the admiral Cheiricrates and was watching the Hellespont with five triremes. Pancalus arrived with all speed and entered the lake with his triremes, and was then ordered by Agesilaus to put on board all the more valuable part of the (booty) and transport it to . . . at Cyzicus, that it might produce pay for the army. The soldiers from Mysia he dismissed with orders to return in the spring, as he was preparing during the coming winter to invade Cappadocia, having heard that

that country stretched in the shape of a narrow strip from the Pontic sea to Cilicia and Phoenicia, and that the length of it was such that persons journeying on foot from Sinope . . .'

xviii. 37. *ταῖς σπον[δ]αῖ[ς*: P's account of the negotiations between Agesilaus and Tithraustes is lost in the gap between Cols. viii and xi. They are described in some detail by Xenophon (*Hell.* iii. 4. 25–6). Diodorus (xiv. 80. 8) states briefly that a six months' truce was arranged, while Isocrates (iv. 153) calls it eight months.

38. *κα[τ]ῆρεν*: *καταίρειν* is often used by Thucydides for arriving by sea (e. g. viii. 31 and 39), but is rare in the sense of coming by land. It was employed by Theopompus as equivalent to *ἐλθεῖν* according to Stephanus Byz., who was perhaps referring to the present passage or viii. 22 ; cf. p. 131.

39. *εἰς τὴν χ[ώραν] τὴν Φαρν[αβά]ζου*: so Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. 4. 26 *ἦει ἐπὶ τὴν Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν*, followed by Plutarch, *Ages.* 11. Since the whole of the autumn campaign of Agesilaus in 395 is ignored by Diodorus, Xenophon has been hitherto practically the sole authority for it. The discrepancies between his account in *Hell.* iii. 4. 26–9 and iv. 1. 1–16 and that of P are no less marked here than in the campaign of the earlier part of the year (v. 6–vii. 4). The two historians are indeed writing from different points of view ; with Xenophon the glorification of Agesilaus is the central motive, and in order to illustrate his hero's personal character certain more or less dramatic episodes, e. g. the negotiations with the king of Paphlagonia and with Pharnabazus, are treated in great detail, so as to produce the impression that the author himself took part in the scenes which he describes: but the military operations, with the exception of the fighting round Dascylium which led to the desertion of Spithradates, are only sketched in outline. In the *Agesilaus*, Xenophon makes no attempt to give a connected story of the autumn campaign, but some anecdotes in the later chapters supplement the *Hellenica* on a few points, especially as to Agesilaus' relations with Megabates. P on the other hand, gives a plain, matter-of-fact account of Agesilaus' march, the course of which is now clear, and he shows no disposition to enlarge upon the picturesque incidents which enliven Xenophon's narrative. Hence while Xenophon (*Hell.* iv. 1. 1) briefly summarizes the earlier part of the campaign corresponding to xviii. 38–xx. 38 in the words *ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ἅμα μετοπώρῳ εἰς τὴν τοῦ Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν τὴν μὲν χώραν ἔκαε καὶ ἐπόρθει, πόλεις δὲ τὰς μὲν βίᾳ τὰς δ' ἑκούσας προσελάμβανε*, the negotiations with the Paphlagonians briefly described by P in xx. 31–xxi. 5, occupy *Hell.* iv. 1. 2–15.

xix. 2. The plain of Thebe was by Adramyttium, and according to Xen. *Hell.* iv. 1. 41 Agesilaus returned thither in the following spring when forced to leave Dascylium. From Thebe he turned eastward; the plain of Apia (*Ἀπίας* is due to Wilamowitz) was north of Mount Temnus on the upper Macestus; cf. Strabo xiii. 1. 70 and Polyb. v. 77. 9. In *Hell.* iii. 4. 27 Xenophon mentions the *πεδίον τὸ ὑπὲρ Κύμης* as the place where Agesilaus heard the news of his appointment to the command of the fleet as well as the army (cf. xv. 33, note), but in view of the long distance from Cyme to Adramyttium, it is, we think, probable that the 'plain beyond Cyme' refers to that at the mouth of the Caicus, not to that of Thebe.

5. That the Mysians had made themselves independent of Persia at this period was known from Xen. *Anab.* i. 6. 7, 9. 14, *Hell.* iii. 1. 13, &c. The use of the present tense *εἰσὶ . . . βασιλέως οὐχ ὑπακούοντες* is another indication that P's work was written before the fall of the Persian empire; cf. xvi. 3, note and p. 122.

15. Wilamowitz would insert *τούς* after *δέ*.

22 sqq. Cf. the ambush described in v. 59 sqq., where the tactics are similar but not precisely identical, and p. 130.

23. This band of mercenaries, formed by Dercylidas and handed on to Agesilaus, is not mentioned elsewhere. They were no doubt veterans who had served under Cyrus.

xx. 7–8. In the previous summer (i. e. 396) Agesilaus had invaded Hellespontine Phrygia (*Φρυγία ἡ παραθαλαττίδιος* as it is called in xxi. 17) as far as Dascylium; cf. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4. 12 sqq., Diod. xiv. 79. 3. On the present occasion after descending from the Mysian Olympus he turned eastward along the valley of the Sangarius.

9 sqq. *Σπι[θρ]αδάτη[ν*: P has *Σπιθραδατης* here twice, but *Σπιθριδατης* in xx. 19. 37 and xxi. 3 in common with the MSS. of Xenophon and Plutarch. The form *Σπιθραδάτης*, which occurs in Ctesias Fr. 52, is more correct; cf. the variation with regard to *Ῥαθάνης* (xx. 35). Spithradates is mentioned in Xen. *Anab.* vi. 5. 7 as one of Pharnabazus' lieutenants. The circumstances attending his desertion to Agesilaus are described more precisely in *Hell.* iii. 4. 10; it there appears that he was won over by Lysander and joined Agesilaus before the campaign of 396, whereas the present passage is vague as to the date of his arrival and in the absence of other evidence would produce the impression that it took place in 395. Concerning the origin of his quarrel with Pharnabazus (xx. 12) Xenophon in *Hell. l. c.* says only that he was *ἐλαττούμενόν τι ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου*, but in *Ages.* 3. 3 he assigns as the reason the fact that the satrap wished to take Spithradates' daughter *ἄνευ γάμου*. The detail that he first fled to Cyzicus (xx. 15) is in accord with Xenophon (*Hell. l. c.*). With regard to Megabates (xx. 16) in the *Hell.* (iv. 1. 6 and 28) Xenophon merely hints at Agesilaus' attachment to him, but P's blunt statement in xx. 19–20 is amply confirmed by the stories in *Ages.* 5. 4–5, copied by Plutarch, *Ages.* 11. The daughter of Spithradates, who plays an important part in Xenophon's story of the negotiations with the Paphlagonian king (*Hell.* iv. 1. 4–15), is ignored by P; cf. xx. 37, note.

16. Wilamowitz would insert *τόν* before *υἱόν*.

25. *Λεόντων Κεφαλαί*: Plutarch (*Them.* 30) calls it *Λεοντοκέφαλον*, and indicates that it was on the main road from Susa to Sardis. Appian, who (*Mithr.* 19) employs the form *Λεόντων Κεφαλή*, says that it was *τῆς Φρυγίας ὀχυρώτατον χωρίον*. The site of it is uncertain; Ramsay (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,* p. 229) would place it near Ayaz-Inn. Since Agesilaus proceeded next to Gordium (l. 29) *Λεόντων Κεφαλαί* seems to be in the parts of Phrygia watered by the Sangarius or its tributary the Tymbris.

29. *πάλιν πρὸς Γόρδιον*: on the site of Gordium, which was on the Sangarius, see A. Körte, *Gordion* (*Ergänzungsheft v d. Jahrb. d. arch. Inst.* 1904). Agesilaus had not been there previously, and *πάλιν* is really otiose; cf. vi. 34, note.

30. *κατεσκευασμένον κα⟨λ⟩ῶς*: cf. Theopompus Fr. 33 and p. 131.

35. *Ῥαθάνου*: he is clearly identical with the *Ῥαθίνης* who appears as one of Pharnabazus' lieutenants in Xen. *Anab.* vi. 5. 7, *Cyrop.* 8. 3. 32, and *Hell.* iii. 4. 13. It seems necessary therefore to emend *Πήγης* to *Πέρσης*, though it is noticeable that the scribe specially draws attention to the reading *Πήγης* by a paroxytone accent to distinguish the word from *πηγῆς*.

37 sqq. P's account of Agesilaus' relations to the Paphlagonians is not only much briefer than Xenophon's (*Hell.* iv. 1. 2–15), but differs in several important respects. That the scheme of making an alliance with them was due to Spithradates is stated by both writers, but while Xenophon says that Agesilaus entered Paphlagonia and negotiated with the king in person, persuading him to marry the daughter of Spithradates, P represents Agesilaus as remaining on the border and using Spithradates as intermediary. Plutarch (*Ages.* 11) abridges Xenophon with slight variations, which do not warrant Sachse's suggestion (*op. cit.* p. 9) that Ephorus is here Plutarch's authority; cf. v. 59, note. The name of the Paphlagonian king is given as *Ὄτυς* in Xen. *Hell.* iv. 1. 3–14, *Κότυς* in Xen. *Ages.* 3 and Plutarch, *Ages.* 11 (as Meyer remarks, this seems to be an ancient emendation of *Ὄτυς*); and the king of Paphlagonia, whom Theopompus in the 35th book of the

Φιλιππικά (Athen. iv. p. 144 and x. p. 415) calls Θῦς (acc. Θῦν, but in Aelian *V. H.* i. 27 when copying Athenaeus Θῦον) and Nepos (*Dat.* 2) *Thys*, has generally been regarded as the same person, though the events recorded about him (his war with Artaxerxes Mnemon and capture by Datames) took place some fifteen or twenty years later than 395. P has yet another name for him, Γύης, a form which in itself is not objectionable (cf. Γύγης), but in view of the errors in the papyrus does not carry much weight; cf. pp. 131–2. Wilamowitz, who regards Θῦς as the correct form, would restore it both here, where Γυης may be corrupt for Τυης = Θῦς, and in Xen. *Hell.* iv. 1. 2 *εἰ ἔλθοι εἰς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν τῶν Παφλαγόνων βασιλέα εἰς λόγους ἄξαι*, where he would read Θῦν for *σὺν αὐτῷ*, which Hartmann had already proposed to emend to Ὄτυν. The form Ὄτυς occurs however several times in *Hell.* iv. 1. 3–14.

xxi. 9. διὰ [τῆς Βιθυνίδος : cf. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2. 2, where the invasion of Bithynia by Dercylidas is described. Theopompus probably treated of that campaign in the 8th book of the *Hellenica*, for several Bithynian names are quoted from it by Stephanus Byz. Since Agesilaus was anxious to return by a different, i.e. more northerly route, and Cius in Mysia on the sea-coast is the next place mentioned on his march (l. 13), he would naturally pass through Bithynia. ἀκο]πωτέρως was suggested by Wilamowitz. ἀπο]νωτέρως is also possible. The comparative adverb in -ως is attested in neither case.

10–2. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* iv. 1. 3 *κατέλιπε τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ Ὄτυς χιλίους μὲν ἱππέας δισχιλίους δὲ πελταστάς. περὶ χιλί]ους* is possible in l. 12, but a number ending in *κοσίους*, e. g. *ἐννεακοσί]ους*, is more likely, especially as P and Xenophon do not agree precisely with regard to the number of the *πεζοί*.

15. *πάλ]ιν*, unless merely redundant (cf. xx. 19, note), refers to the former plundering of Mysia in xix. 8.

ἀνθ' ὧν κ.τ.λ. : cf. xix. 14–8.

18. Μιλήτου Τεῖχος is clearly identical with the town near the confluence of the Macestus and Rhyndacus (cf. l. 20), known in later times as Μιλήτου πόλις or Μιλητόπολις; cf. Strabo xii. 8. 10, xiv. 5. 29.

21. Δα(σ)κύλιο[ν : Agesilaus' arrival at Dascylium is also recorded by Xenophon (*Hell.* iv. 1. 15), who describes the richness of the district surrounding the *βασίλεια* of Pharnabazus (cf. ll. 22–4), but without mentioning the dispatch of Pancalus with the booty to Cyzicus (ll. 25–33). His statement that Agesilaus passed the winter there is in accordance with P's description of Agesilaus' plans in ll. 33 sqq.

25–6. Pancalus is only known from the present passage ; *ἐπιβάτης* is somewhat curious and is possibly an error for *ἐπιστολεύς*. The fact that Cheiricrates is still spoken of as *ναύαρχος* produces a conflict with Xenophon ; cf. xv. 33, note.

31. Some participle like [*διηρπασμ]ένων* (Bury) is required.

33. *τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Μ̣υ]σία[ς* : by these are apparently meant the Mysians who had joined Agesilaus according to xix. 6–7, and whose homes were therefore not far from Dascylium. That Agesilaus should have disbanded all the soldiers who had served under him in Mysia (as the words might mean) is incredible, for his position at Dascylium was far from secure. Xenophon (*Hell.* iv. 1. 17) states that owing to the lack of precautions he was attacked by Pharnabazus.

35–9. *τ]ὴν ἐπιόντα χειμῶνα* is to be connected closely with *παρα̣σκ̣ευα̣[ζόμενος*, not with *βαδίζειν*, a winter campaign being of course out of the question. Agesilaus' intention of invading Cappadocia is not recorded by Xenophon, but he credits him even when obliged to retire to Thebe with ambitious dreams of conquest (*Hell.* iv. 1. 41 *πυρεσκευάζετο γὰρ πορευσόμενος ὡς δύναιτο ἀνωτάτω, νομίζων ὁπόσα ὅπισθεν ποιήσαιτο ἕθνη πάντα ἀποστερήσειν βασιλέως* : cf. the more rhetorical description in *Ages.* i. 36 *ἐπινοῶν καὶ ἐλπίζων καταλύσειν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύσασαν πρότερον ἀρχήν*). Hence there is no reason to doubt P's statement that

Agesilaus entertained the plan of invading Cappadocia, although not only did unexpected obstacles, first the desertion of Spithradates and then his own recall to Europe, prevent any attempt to put the scheme into execution, but the plan itself was based on a complete misunderstanding of the geography. The description of Cappadocia as 'a narrow strip reaching from the Pontic sea to Cilicia and Phoenicia' (i.e the gulf of Issus) is of course inaccurate, and the distance from Sinope to the southern coast (ll. 37–8) was no doubt much underestimated. In this respect however Agesilaus only shared the general misconception of the ancient Greek world with regard to the shape of Asia Minor, which even later than the fourth century B.C. was conceived of as a kind of triangle, of which the apex was formed by a comparatively narrow isthmus joining Sinope to the Gulf of Issus; cf. Strabo's discussion (xiv 5. 21) of the views of Apollodorus and Artemidorus. The latter writer had estimated the width of the isthmus at 1500 stades, which, as Strabo rightly remarks, are just half the correct number, and Pliny is no nearer the mark when he reckons the distance as only 200 Roman miles. That the journey from Sinope to ἡ ὀρεινὴ Κιλικία could be accomplished in five days was the opinion of Herodotus (i. 72, ii. 34), who in the former passage uses the word αὐχήν to describe the position of Cappadocia, and five days is also the duration of the journey from Sinope to Soli on the Cilician coast according to Scylax 102. Scymnus (who is probably following Ephorus), criticizing Herodotus' view, estimates it at seven days. Herodotus' statement has been explained (Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, p. 145) as a misunderstanding of the time occupied by the relays of Persian postal messengers, and is certainly wide of the truth. But that Agesilaus was better informed is unlikely, and the incomplete sentence in ll. 38–9 may well have continued ἐντὸς πέντε ἡμερῶν, followed by εἰς Σόλους πορεύεσθαι or the like.

Fr. 16. The compactness of the writing makes it almost certain that this fragment belongs to Cols. v or vi. It is more probably in the second than in the first hand.

Fr. 17. The apparent mention of Tissaphernes renders it probable that this fragment belongs to Col. iv. Like Frs. 18, 23, and 38, it comes from the top of a column.

Fr. 19. 8. Ἀρχε[λαϊδ?: cf. Fr. 20. 11 and iii. 22, note. Possibly the reference is to king Archelaus of Macedonia (cf. ix. 29), not to the ship (?) Archelais. Fr. 20 is probably to be placed in a line above or below Fr. 19, but apart from the supposed connexion with Col. iii the position of these two fragments, together with 18 which seems to belong to the top of the same column as Frs. 19 and 20 on account of its colour and general appearance, is quite uncertain. There is a possible mention of Lysander in Fr. 20. 6.

Frs. 21 and 22. That these two fragments belong to Cols. vii or viii is almost certain on account of the colour of the recto.

Fr. 29. This fragment does not suit iii. 19–22 or vi. 42–5.

Fr. 33. The exceptional blackness of the ink in this fragment suggests that it comes from Col. ix. But it is not certain that it belongs to **842** at all. The recto is blank.

Fr. 44. This fragment is from the bottom of a column, like Fr. 61.

Fr. 65. That this fragment and 68 belong to **842** is not certain.

Frs. 71–2. It is very doubtful whether these fragments come from **842**. Fr. 71 is written in a larger hand and on thicker papyrus than elsewhere, and some traces of writing on the recto seem to be in a different hand from the two hands of the land-survey, while on the recto of Fr. 72 is some writing proceeding in the opposite direction to that of the land-survey and in a different hand.

III. EXTANT CLASSICAL TEXTS

843. PLATO, *Symposium*.

Height 31·1 cm. Plate VI (Cols. xxxi–ii).

THIS, the largest literary papyrus found at Oxyrhynchus, consists of the latter half of a roll containing the *Symposium* of Plato. The part covered is from 200 B to the end, comprised in thirty-one columns of which four (xix–xxii) are missing entirely, while two others (i and xviii) are represented by small fragments; but the remainder is in a very fair state of preservation. The space occupied by a column with the adjacent margin is about 10 cm. in breadth, and the total length of the roll may thus be estimated at some 23 or 24 feet. The small and well-formed but somewhat heavy writing exemplifies a common type of book hand, and probably dates from about the year 200 A.D. N at the end of a line of full length is written as a stroke above the preceding vowel; and the common angular mark is freely added at the end of short lines. Double dots are as usual employed to mark the alternations of the dialogue, but sometimes appear in other positions than at the end of a speech, e.g. in ll. 955 and 1221. A single high point is used, more especially in the latter part of the papyrus, to mark a pause; the marginal paragraphus commonly accompanies both forms of punctuation, or stands by itself without them. Other lectional signs, apart from the diaeresis, are rare and for the most part due to a second hand which has corrected the decidedly careless work of the original scribe. The corrector's ink, however, does not differ markedly in colour from that of the text, and in the case of minor insertions the two hands are at times difficult to distinguish. But as they are certainly not separated by any wide interval of time the question has no great practical importance. The clearest instance of a rough breathing by the first scribe occurs in l. 352. In cases of doubt we have as a rule credited alterations to the corrector, to whom is also due an isolated and seemingly futile scholium at l. 391.

The text, as so often with papyri, is of an eclectic character, showing a decided affinity with no single MS. Compared with the three principal witnesses for the *Symposium* it agrees now with B against TW, now with the two latter as against the former, rarely with T against BW (ll. 112, 180, 297, 350, 435, 660) or with W against BT (ll. 183, 674, 776, 966, 1007, 1015). Similarly in a passage cited by Stobaeus some agreements with his readings against the consensus of BTW

are counterbalanced by a number of variations from Stobaeus' text (cf. notes on ll. 141–79). A few coincidences occur with variants peculiar to the inferior MSS., the more noticeable being those with Vindob. 21 alone or in combination with Venet. 184 (ll. 59, 898, 986, 999, 1194) and Parisin. 1642 alone or with Vat. 229 (ll. 349, 462, 1196). Of the readings for which there is no other authority, including several variations in the order of words, the majority, if unobjectionable, are unconvincing. The more valuable contributions, some of which are plainly superior to anything found in other MSS., are: l. 92 *επ*, l. 112 the omission of *καί* (so Stallbaum), l. 239 *αν ειη*, where BTW have a meaningless *ἄν*, l. 368 *καλω* as conjectured by Badham for *τῷ κ.*, l. 471 *μετεχει* as restored by Stephanus (*μετέχειν* MSS.), l. 517 *τεκειν* confirming a conjecture of Hug (*κυεῖν* MSS.), l. 529 *επιθυμη* as conjectured by Stephanus (*ἐπιθυμεῖ* MSS.), l. 577 *και συ* omitted by MSS., l. 699 *θεοφιλει* (*-ῆ* BTW), l. 770 *κατιδε[ν* (?) (*καθίζειν* MSS.), l. 898 *μοι* (probably) with Vind. 21 (*μου* BTW), l. 1142 *διαβαλει* as conjectured by Hirschig (*διαβάλῃ* BTW). On the other hand in many cases the papyrus once more proves the antiquity of readings which modern criticism rejects or suspects.

In the accompanying apparatus, which is based on Burnet's Oxford edition, we usually confine ourselves to the readings of BTW. With regard to the last named MS., Prof. H. Schöne of Basel has very kindly placed at our disposal his new collation which often supplements and sometimes corrects the report of Burnet. Occasional references to the readings of other MSS. are derived from the edition of Bekker, and that of Schanz has also been consulted. We neglect minor orthographical variations such as *ἀεί* and *αἰεί*, the interchange of *ι* and *ει*, *σ* and *ξ*, *ἐάν* and *ἄν*, occurrence of elision, crasis, and *ν ἐφελκυστικόν*, and attraction of consonants.

Col. i.

5 lines lost.

6] *βουλοι* 200 B

[*το ισχυρος ειναι φαναι τον Σωκ*]*ρ̣α̣*

40 lines lost.

Col. ii.

[*τουτων ων*] *αν ενδεια παρην αυτω*〉 200 E

[*ναι φαναι ε*]*π*[[*ε*]]*ι δη τουτοις αναμνη* 201 A

[*σ*]*θ̣ητι τ*[*ιν*]*ων εφησθ̣α εν τω λογω ειναι*

τον ερ[*ω*]*τα ει δ̣ε̣* [*β*]*ουλει εγω σε αναμνη*

σω οιμαι γαρ σ̣ε̣ ο̣υτωσει πως ειπειν〉

οτι τοις θεοις κατεσκευασθη τα πραγ
ματα δι [ε]ρωτα[[ς]] καλων αισχρων γαρ
[ο]υκ ειη ερως ουχ ουτωσει πως ελεγες
[ε]ιπον γαρ φαναι τον Αγαθωνα: και
[ε]πιεικως γε λεγε[ι]ς ω εταιρε φαναι⟩
τον Σωκρατη και ει τουτο ουτως⟩
εχει αλλο τι η ο ερως καλλους αν ειη [[ο]]⟩
ερως αισχ[[ρ]]ους δε ου ωμολογει: ουκουν 201 B
[ωμο]λογηται ου ενδεης εστι και μη
[τ]ου
[εχει] του [ε]ραν: ναι ειπειν: ενδεης⟩
[αρ ε]στι και ουκ εχει ο ερως καλλος⟩
[αν]α[γ]κη φαναι: τι δε το ενδεες καλ
[λους] και μηδ[α]μη κεκτημενον καλ
[λος αρ]α [λ]εγει[ς] συ καλον ειναι: ου δητα:
[ετι ο]υν ομολογεις ερωτα καλον ειναι
[ει ταυτ]α ουτως εχει: και τον Αγαθω⟩
[να ειπειν] ω Σωκρατες κινδυνευω
[ουδεν ε]ιδεναι ων τοτε ειπον: και⟩ 201 C
[μη]ν καλως γε ειπας φαναι ω Αγαθω
[αλλα σμικρον] ετι ειπε τα αγαθα ου⟩
[και καλα δοκε]ι σοι ειναι: εμοιγε: ει α
[ρα ο ερως τω]ν καλων ενδεης εστιν
[τα δ]ε αγαθ[α] καλα καν των αγαθω [–]
[ενδε]η[ς] ειη: εγω φαναι ω Σωκρατες
[σοι ο]υκ αν δυναιμην αντιλεγειν
αλλα ουτως εχετω ως συ λεγεις: ου⟩
μεν ουν τη αλη[θ]εια φαναι ω φιλε⟩
[Αγ]αθων δυνασαι αντιλεγειν επει
Σωκρατει γε ουδεν χαλεπον και σε⟩ 201 D
μεν γε ηδη εασω τον δε λογον τον
περι τ[ου] ερωτος ον ποτε ηκουσα⟩

γυνα[ικ]ος Μαντινικης Διοτι[[μ]]as

[[σ]]η ταυτα τε σοφη ην[[αι]] και αλλα⟩
πολλ[α] και Αθηναιοις ποτε θυσαμε
νοις προ του λοιμου δεκα ετη ανα
βολην [ε]ποιησατο τῆς νοσου η δη και
εμε τα ερωτικα εδιδαξεν ὀν ουν
λογον εκεινη ελεγεν πειρασομαι
ϋμειν διελθειν εκ των ωμολογη⟩
μενων εμοι και Αγαθωνι αυτος ε⟩
π εμαυτου οπως αν δυνω[μ]αι δει
δη ω Αγαθων ωσπερ συ διη[γησ]ω⟩

Col. iii.

διελθειν αυτον πρωτον τις εστιν 201 E
ο ερως και οποιος τις επειτα τα ερ⟩
γα αυτου δοκει ουν μοι ραστον ει⟩
ναι ουτω διελθ[ε]ιν ως ποτε με η ξε[[–]]
νη ανακρεινουσα διηει σχεδον δε
τι και εγω προς αυτην ετερα τοι⟩
αυτα ελεγον οιαπερ νυν προς εμε Αγαθων⟩
ως ειη ο ερως μεγας θεος ειη δε των καλων⟩
ηλεγχε δη με τουτοις τοις λογοις οισπερ⟩
εγω τουτον ως ουτε καλος ειη κατα τον⟩
εμον λογον ουτε αγαθος καιγω πως εφῆ
λεγεις ω Διοτιμα αισσχρο[[ν]]ς αρα ο ερως εστι
και κακος: και ἠ ουκ ευφημησεις εφη ἤ⟩
οίει οτι εαν μη καλον η αναγκαιον αυ⟩
το ειναι αισχρον: μαλιστα γε: η και αν 202 A
μη σοφον αμαθες η ουκ ησθησαι οτι ε⟩
στιν τι μεταξυ σοφιας και αμαθιας:
τι τουτο: το ορθα δοξαζειν ανευ του
εχειν λογον δουναι ουκ οισθα εφη οτι
ουτε επιστασθαι εστιν αλογον γαρ πραγ

μα πως αν ειη επιστημη ουτε αμα⟩
θια το γαρ του οντος τυγχανον πως
αν ειη αμαθια εστι δε δηπου τοιουτο
η ορθη δοξα μεταξυ φρονησεως και⟩
αμαθιας αληθη ην δ εγω λεγεις: μη⟩ 202 B
τοινυν αναγκαζε [ο] μη καλον εστιν⟩
αισχρον ειναι μηδ ο μη αγαθον κακο̄
ουτω δε και τον ε[ρ]ωτα [επειδη αυτος
ομολογεις μη ει[ναι αγαθον μη]δε καλο̄
μηδεν τι μαλλον οιου δειν α[υ]τον αισ⟩
χρον και κακον ειναι αλλα τι: μετα⟩
ξυ τουτοιν εφη και μην ην δ εγω ο⟩
μολογειτα[ι] γε παρα παντων μεγας⟩
θεος ειναι των μη ειδοτων εφη παν
των λεγεις η και των ειδοτων: ξυμπᾱ
των μεν ουν και η γελασασα και πως⟩
αν εφη ω Σωκρατες ομολογοιτο μεγας 202 C
θεος ειναι παρα τουτων οι φασιν αυτο̄
ουδε θεον ειναι τινες ουτοι ην δ εγω⟩
s
ει μεν εφη συ μια δ εγω καιγω ειπον⟩
πω̣[ς του]το λεγεις: και η ραδιως εφη λε
γε γαρ [μ]οι ου παντας θεους φη[ς] ευδαιμο̣[
νας ειναι και καλους η τολμησαις αν⟩
τινα μη φαναι καλον τε και ευδα[ι]μο
να θεων ειναι μα Δι ουκ εγωγ ε̣φ̣[ην
ευδ[αιμ]ονας δε δη [λ]ε̣γεις ο[υ] τους τα
γ̣[αθα κα]ι τα καλα κεκτημενους:⟩

Col. iv.

ου τους ταγαθα και τα καλα κεκ[τη]με
νους: πανυ γε αλλα μην ερωτα ⌈γε⌉ ω⟩ 202 D
μολογηκας δι ενδειαν των αγα[θ]ων
και καλων επιθυμειν αυτων τ[ο]υ⟩
των ων ενδεης εστιν: ωμολογη⟩

κα γαρ πως αν ουν θεος ειη ο γε των⟩
καλων κα[ι αγ]αθων αμοιρος: ουδα⟩
μως ως γε εοικεν: ορας ουν εφη οτι⟩
150 και συ ερωτα ου θεον νομιζεις: τι [οῡ
αν εφην ειη ο ερως θνητος: ηκιστ[α
γε: αλλα τι μην: ωσπερ τα προτε
ρα εφη μεταξυ θνητου και αθ[α]ν̣α
του τι ουν ω Διοτιμα δαιμων μ[ε
155 γας ω Σωκρατες και γαρ παν το δαι⟩
μονιον μεταξυ εστι θεου τε και⟩ 202 E
θνητου: τινα ην δ εγω δυναμιν⟩
εχον: ερμηνευον και διαπροθμευ
ον θεοις τα παρ ανθρωπων και αν⟩
160 θρωποις τα παρα θεων των μεν τας
δεησεις και θυσιας των δε τας επι⟩
ταξεις τε και αμοιβας των θυσιων
εμ μεσω δε ον αμφοτερων συμπλη
ροι ωστε το παν αυτο αυτω ξυνδε⟩
165 δεσθαι δια τουτου και η μαντικη
πασα χωρει και η των ϊερεων τεχνη
των τε περι τας θυσιας και τας [τ]ε⟩
[λε]τ̣ας και τας επωδας και την [μ]ᾱ 203 A
[τ]ειαν πασαν και γοητιαν θεος δ̣ε
170 αι·θρωπω ου μειγνυται αλλα δια
τ[ο]υτου πασα εστιν η ομιλια και η⟩
δ[ι]αλεκτος θεοις προς ανθρωπους
[και] εγληγοροσ[[σ]]ι και καθευδουσι και
σ
[ο με]ν περι τα τοιαυτα οφος δα[ι]μο⟩
175 [νιο]ς̣ ανηρ ο δε αλλο τι σοφος ων η⟩
περι τεχνας η περι χειρουργιας τ[ι]⟩
να[ς] βαναυσους ουτοι δη οι δαιμονες
πολλοι τε και παντοδαποι εισιν εις
δε τουτων· εστ[ι κα]ι ο ερως: πατρος
180 δε ην δ εγω και μητ[ρ]ος τινος εστιν:

μακροτερον μεν εφη διηγησασθαι 203 B
ομως δε σοι ερω οτε γαρ εγενετ[ο] η *A*
φροδειτη ϊστιωντο οι θεοι οι τε [αλλο]ι
και ο της Μητιδος ϋιος Πορος επ[ει]δη
δε εδειπνησαν προσαιτησουσα ο[ιο]ν
δη ευωχιας ουσης αφικετο η Π[ε]νι
α και ην [π]ερι τας θυρας ο ουν Πο[ρος
μεθυσθεις του ν[εκ]ταρος οινος [γαρ

Col. v.

ουπω ην εις τον του Διος κηπον εξ[ε]λ⟩
θων βεβαρημενος ευδεν η ουν Πενια
επιβουλευουσα δια την αυτης απο⟩
ριαν παιδιον ποιησασθαι εκ του Πο⟩
ρου κατακλεινεται τε παρ αυτω και 203 C
εκυησε τον ερωτα διο δη και της *A*⟩
φ[ροδει]της καλης ουσης ατε ουν Πο
[ρου ακ]ολουθος και θεραπων γεγονεν
ο ερως γεννηθ[ε]ις εν τοις εκεινης γε⟩
νεθλιοις και αμα φυσει εραστης ων⟩
περι το καλον και της Αφροδειτης
καλης ουσης ατε ουν Πορου κα[ι Πε
νιας υιος ων ο ερως εν τοιαυτῃ [τυ⟩
χη καθεστηκεν πρωτον μεν πε⟩
νης αει εστιν και πολλου δει ἁπαλος
τε και καλος οιον οι πολλοι οιονται⟩
αλλα σκληρος και αυχμηρος και αν⟩ 203 D
ϋποδητος και αοικος χαμαιπετης
αιει ων και αστρωτος επι θυραις και⟩
εν οδοις ϋπαιθριος κοιμωμενος την
της μητρος φυσιν εχων αει ενδειαι
συν[οικ]ος κατα δε αυ τον πατερα επι⟩
βουλος εστι [καλοις] και αγαθοις ανδρει
ος ων και ϊτης και συντονος θη[ρευ

μηχα
της δεινος αει τινας πλεκων [[α̣]]νας
βας και φρονησεως επιθυμητης και⟩
π[[ρ]]οριμος φιλοσοφῶν δια παντος του
βιου δεινος γοης φαρμακευς και σοφι⟩
στης και ουτε ως αθανατος πεφυκεν 203 E
ουτε ως θνητος αλλα τοτε μεν της
ημερας θαλλει και ζη οταν ευπορη⟩
παλιν
ση τοτε δε αποθνησκει παλιν δε α⟩
ναβιοσκε[[ι]]ται δια την του πατρος⟩
φυσιν το δε ποριζομενον αιει ϋπεκρει
ωστε ουτε απορει ερως ποτε ουτε πλου
αυ
τει σοφιας και αμαθιας εν μεσω εστῑ
εχει γαρ ωδε θεων ουδεις φιλοσοφει ου 204 A
δ επιθυμει σοφος γενεσθαι εστι γαρ· ου
δ ει τις αλλος σοφος ου φιλοσοφει ου⟩
δ αυ οι αμαθεις φιλοσοφουσιν ουδ επι⟩
θυμουσι σοφοις γενεσθαι αυτο γαρ του
το εστ[ι]ν χαλεπη αμαθια το μη οντα⟩
καλον καγαθον μηδε φρονιμον δο⟩
κειν αυτω ειναι ϊκανον ούκουν επι
θυμει[[ν]] ο μη οιομενος ενδεης ειναι⟩
ου αν μη οιηται επιδεισθαι τινες οῡ
[ε]φην εγω ω Διοτιμα οι φιλοσοφουν

Col. vi.

τες ει μητε οι σοφοι μητε οι αμαθεις :⟩
[δ]ηλον δη εφη τουτο γε ηδη και παι⟩ 204 B
[δ]ι̣ οτι οι μεταξυ [του]των αμφοτε⟩
[ρ]ων ων αν ειη και̣ [ο ερ]ως εστιν γαρ δη⟩
των καλλιστων η σοφια ερως δ εστιν⟩
ερως περι το καλον ωστε αναγκαιον ε⟩
ρωτα φιλοσοφον ειναι φιλοσοφον δε⟩

οντα μετοξυ ειναι σοφου και αμαθους
αιτια δε [αυτω και το]υτων η γενεσις⟩
πατρος μ[εν γ]αρ σοφου εστιν και ευπο
ρου μητ[ρος δε] ου σοφης και απορου η⟩
μεν ουν φυ̣[σις του δ]α̣ιμονος ω φιλε⟩
Σωκρατες αυτη ο̣υ̣ [δ]ε συ ω̣θης ερωτα
ειναι θαυμαστον ουδεν επαθες ωη⟩ 204 C
θης δε ως εμοι δοκει τεκμαιρομενη⟩
εξ ων συ ελεγες το ερωμενον ειναι ερω
τα ου το ερων δια ταυτα σοι οιομαι⟩
πανκαλος εφαινετο ο ερως και γαρ εστι
το εραστον το τω οντι καλον κ̣[α]ι α̣[[γα]]
ρ
βον και τελειον και μακαριστον το
δε γε ερων αλλην ϊδεαν τοιαυτην
ι
εχον οιαν εγω δηλθον και εγω ειπο̄
ειεν δη ω ξενη καλως γαρ λεγεις τοι⟩
ουτος ων ο ερως τινα χρειαν εχει τοις
ανθρωποις τουτο δη μετα ταυτα⟩ 204 D
εφη ω Σωκρατες πειρασομαι σε διδα
και ουτω
ξαι εστι μεν γαρ δη τοιουτος γε⟩
γονως ο ερως εστι δε των καλων ως⟩
συ φης ει δε τις ημας εροιτο τι των⟩
καλων εστ[ιν ο ε]ρως ω Σωκρατες τε και
Διοτιμα ω[δε δ]ε σαφεστερον ερα ο ερω̄
των καλω[ν τί ε]ρα: και εγω ειπον οτι
γενεσθαι αυ[τ]ω[[.]] αλλ ετι ποθει εφη⟩
η αποκρισις ερωτησιν τοιανδει· τι
εσται εκεινω ω̣ εαν γενηται τα κα
λα ου πανυ εφην ετι εχειν εγω προς
ταυτην την ερωτησιν προχει⟩
ρως αποκρεινασθαι: αλλ εφη ωσπερ 204 E
αν ει τις μεταβαλων αντι του καλου
τω αγαθω χρωμενος πυνθανοιτο⟩

φερε ω Σωκρατες εραι ο ερων των α⟩
γαθων τι ερα γενεσθαι ην δ εγω αυ⟩
τω και τι εσται εκεινω ω αν γενηται
ταγαθα τουτ ευπορωτερον ην δ ε⟩
280 γω εχω αποκρεινασθαι οτι ευδαιμων
εσται: κτησε[ι] γαρ εφη αγαθων οι ευδαιμονες 205 A
ευδαιμονες και ουκετι προσδει ερε⟩

Col. vii.

[σθαι ινα τι δε β]ουλ[εται ευδ]αιμων ει⟩
[ναι ο βουλομενο]ς αλ[λα τελο]ς δοκ[ει ε]
285 [χειν η αποκρισις αληθη λ]εγεις ει⟩
[πον εγω ταυτην δ]ε τ[η]ν βουλησιν
[και τον ερωτα τ]ουτον ποτερα κοι⟩
[νον οιει ειναι π]αντων ανθρωπων
[και παντας τ]αγαθα βουλεσθαι αυτοις
290 [ειναι] αει [η] π[ω]ς λεγεις ουτως ην δ εγ[ω
[κοι]νον ειναι παντων: τι δη ουν εφη
ω Σωκρατες ου παντα[ς ερα]ν φαμεν⟩
ειπ[ε]ρ γε παντες τω[ν αυ]των ερωσι⟩ 205 B
και αιει αλ[λα] τινας [φαμ]εν εραν τους
295 δ ου: θαυμα[ζω] ην [δ εγω κ]αι αυτος⟩
αλλα μη θα[υμαζε εφη αφ]ελοντε[ς]⟩
γαρ αρα του [ερω]τος τι ιδος ονομα⟩
ζομεν το το[υ ολ]ου επιτιθεντες ο⟩
νομα ερωτα τ[α δε] αλλα αλλοις κα⟩
300 ταχρωμεθα ο[νομ]ασι: ωσπερ τι ην
δ εγω ωσπερ τ[οδε οι]σθ οτι ποιησις ε
στιν τι πολυ η γαρ τω εκ του μη ον⟩ η γαρ ω
τος εις το ον ι[ο]ντι οτωουν αιτια⟩
πασα εστι ποιησις ωστε και αι υπο⟩ 205 C
305 πασαις ταις τεχναις εργασιαι ποι
ησεις εισι και οι τουτων δημιουργοι

παντες ποιηται: αληθη λεγεις αλ⟩
λ ομως η δ η οισθα οτι ου καλουνται
ποιηται αλλ' αλλα εχουσιν ονομα
τα απ[ο δε π]α[σ]ης της ποιησεως εν
μοριο[ν αφ]ορισθεν το περι την μου
σικην και τα μετρα τω του ολου ονο
ματι προσαγορευεται ποιησις γαρ⟩
ταυτα μονον καλειται και οι εχον
τες τουτο το μοριον της ποιησε⟩
ως ποιηται: αληθη εφη[ν] λεγεις⟩
ουτω τοινυν και περι τον [ε]ρωτα⟩ 205 D
το μ[ε]ν κεφαλαιον εστιν [π]ασα η⟩
των αγαθων επιθυμια και του ευ
δαιμονειν ο μεγιστος τε και δολε
ρος ερως παντι αλλ οι μεν αλλη τρε
πομενοι πολλαχη επ αυτον η κατα⟩
χρηματισμο η κατα φιλογυμναστι
αν η κατα φιλοσοφιαν ουτ εραν κα⟩
[λου]νται ουτ ερασται οι δε κατα εν τι ει
δος ϊοντες τε και εσπουδακοτες το
του ολου ονομα εσχον ερωτα τε και ε⟩
ραν και ερασται: κινδυνευ[[ου]]ει αλη⟩
θη εφην εγω λεγε[ι]ν: και λεγεται με

Col. viii.

[η σοι δοκουσι μα Δι ουκ εμοι γ'ε ην [δ εγ]ω [αρ ου]ν η [δ] η [ου
[τως απλουν ε]σ[τι λεγειν οτ]ι οι ανθρωποι του αγαθου
[γε τις] εφη λογ[ος ως οι α]ν τ[ο] ημ[[ε]]ισυ ε⟩
[α]υτων ζητω[ιν ουτοι ε]ρωσι ο δ εμος λο 205 E
γος ουτε ημ[εισιος φησι]ν ειναι τον ερω
τα ειναι [ο]υτε [ολου εαν] μη τυγχανη⟩
γε που ω εται[ρε αγαθον ον] επει αυτω
γε και πο[δας και χειρας εθελουσι]ν απο

τε[μνεσθαι οι ανθρωποι εαν α]υτοις δο
[κη τα εαυτων πονηρα ειναι] ου γαρ το
[εαυτων οιμαι εκαστοι ασπα]ζονται
ε[ι μη ει] τ̣[ις το μεν αγαθ]ον ο[ι]κειον κα
[λει κ]αι εαυ[του το δε κακ]ον αλλοτριο̄
ως ουδεν γ[ε αλλο εστι]ν ου ερωσιν αν〉 206 A
θρ[ωπ]οι η τ[ου αγαθου ερ]ωσιν ναι εφη̄
τι δ[ε] ου π[ροσθετεον ε]φη οτι και ειναι
το αγαθον [αυτοις ερωσι] προσθετ[[α]]εον〉
[α]ρ ουν εφη κα[ι ου μονον] ειναι αλλα〉
και αει [ε]ιν[αι και τ]ο[υ]το π[ρ]οσθετ[[α]]εον :〉
εστιν αρα ξυ[λλη]β̣δην [ε]φη ο ερως του
το αγαθον αυτω ειναι αιει : αληθεστα
τα εφην εγω λεγεις : οτε δε τουτο ο ε〉 206 B
ρως εστιν αιει η δ η των τινα τροπο̄
διωκ[ον]των αυτο και εν τ[ι]νι πρα〉
ξει σπουδη και η συντασις ερως αν〉
καλ[ο]ι̣το τ̣ι̣ τ̣[ουτο τ]υγχανει ον το
εργον εχεις ει̣π̣[ε]ι̣ν̣ [:] ου μενταν σε ε〉
φην εγω ω Διοτιμα εθαυμαζον επι
σοφια και εφοιτων παρα σε αυτα ταυ
τα : μαθησομενος αλλ εγω σοι εφη ερω
εστι γαρ τουτο τοκος εν καλω και〉
κατα το σωμα και κατα την ψυχην
μαντειας ην δ εγω δειται οτι ποτε
λεγεις και ου μανθανω : αλλ εγω δη 206 C
σαφεστερον ερω κυουσιν γαρ ε̣φη〉
ω Σωκρατες παντες ανθρωποι και
κατα το σωμα και κατα την ψυχην
και επειδαν εν τινι ηλικια γενων
ται τικτειν επιθυμει[[ν]] ημων η φυ
σις τικτειν δε εν μεν αισχρω ου δυ
ναται εν δε καλω η γαρ ανδρος και
γυναικος συνουσια τοκος εστιν

370 εστι δε τουτο θειον [[τουτο]] το πραγ
μα και τουτο εν θνητω οντι τω
ζωω αθανατον ενεστιν η κυη
σις και η γεννησις τα δ εν τω αναρ
μοστω αδυνατον γενεσθαι αναρμο〉 206 D
375 στον δ εστιν το αισχρον απαντι τω〉
θεω το δε καλον αρμοττον μοιρα ουν
και ειλυθυϊα ἡ καλλονῆ εστιν τη γε〉

Col. ix.

νεσ[ει δ̣ι̣[α τα]υτα οτα[ν μεν] κα[λω προσ
πελαζη το κυουν ϊλε[ω]ν τε γιγν[ε]ται〉
380 και ευφραινομενον [δ]ιαχειται [κ]αι τι〉
κτει τε και γεννα: ο̣[τα]ν δε αισχ[ρ]ω σκυ
θρωπον τε και λυπ̣ουμ[ε]νον ξυ[ν]σπει〉
ραται και αποτρεπετ[α]ι κα̣[ι] αν[ιλ]λεται
και ου γενν[α] αλλ ισχον το κυημ[α χα]λ̣ε
385 πως φερει [οθ]εν δη τ[ω] κυουντι [τε και]〉
ηδη σπαργωντι πολλη η πτοιησ[ις γε
γονε περι το καλον [δ]ια το μεγαλ[ης] ω〉 206 E
δεινος απολυ[ει]ν τον εχοντα εστιν
γαρ ω [Σ̈ω]κρα[τ]ες εφη ου του καλου ο ε〉
390 ρως ως σ[υ] ο̣[ι]ει: αλλα τι μην[:] της γεν〉
νησεως και του τοκου εν τω καλω: ει〉 ν υ
εν ην δ εγω: πανυ μεν ουν εφη: τι δη α ο̣ ε̣χ̣[ει ε
ουν της γενεσεως οτι αει γενεσις εστι ρως σ̣τ̣ .[.
και αθανατον ως θνητω η γεννησις
395 αθανασιας δε αναγκαιον επιθυμειν 207 A
μ̣ετα αγαθου εκ των ωμολογημενω̃
ε[ι]περ του αγαθου εαυτω ειναι αιει ερως
ε̣[σ]τιν αναγκαιον δη εκ τουτου του
λογου και της αθανασιας τον ερωτα
400 ειναι· ταυτα τε ουν παντα εδιδα〉
σκε με οποτε περι των ερωτικων λο

γ[ο]υς ποιοιτο: και ποτε ηρετο: τι οιει⟩
ω Σ̄ωκρατες αιτιον ειναι τουτου του
ερωτος και της επιθυμιας η ουκ αισθα
νει ως δεινως διατιθεται παντα τα
[θ]ηρια επειδαν επειδαν γενναν ε⟩
πιθυμησῃ και τα πεζα και τα πτη⟩
να νοσουντα τε παντα και ερωτι⟩ 207 B
κως διατιθεμενα πρωτον μεν πε
ρι το ξυμμιγηναι αλληλοις επειτα
περι την τροφην του γενομενου
και ετοιμα εστιν ὑπερ τουτων και
διαμαχεσθαι τα ασθενεστατα τοις
ἰσχυροτατοις και ὑπεραποθνησκεῖ
και αυτω τω λειμω παρατινομενα
ωστε εκεινα εκτρεφειν και αλλο⟩
παν ποιουντα τους μεν γαρ ανθρω
πους εφη οιοιτ αν τις εκ λογισμου
ταυτα ποιειν τα δε θηρια τις αι
τια ουτως ερωτικως διατιθεσθαι 207 C
εχεις λεγειν: και εγω ελεγον οτι⟩
ουκ ειδειην: η δ ειπεν διανοει
ουν δεινο[ς πο]τε γενησεσθαι τα ε
ρωτικα εα[ν τ]αυτα μη εννοης [[η]]
αλλα δια [ταυ]τα τοι ω Διοτιμα

Col. x.

ο[περ] γυνδη ειπον παρα σε [ηκ]ω γν̣[ους
ο[τι δι]δασκαλων δεομαι [αλλ]α μ[οι λε
γε και τουτων την αιτι̣[αν κ]αι τ[ων
αλλων των περι τα [ε]ρωτ[ικα ει τοι
νυν εφη πιστευεις εκεινου ειν[α]ι⟩
φυσει τον ερωτα ὀῦ πολλακις ωμο⟩
[λ]ογησαμεν μη θαυμαζε ενταυθα
[γ]αρ τον αυτον εκεινω λο[γο]ν η θνη 207 D

τ[ο]
τη φυσ[ι]ς ζητει κ̣ατα [δ]υνατον αει
τε̣ ειναι και αθανατος δυναται δε
ταυτη μονον τη γενεσει οτι αει
[κ]αταλειπει ετερον νεον αντι του
παλαιου επει και εν ὧ̂ εν εκαστον
των ζωων ζην καλειται και ει⟩
ναι το αυτο οιον εκ παιδαριου⟩
ο αυτος λεγεται εως αν πρεσβυτης
γενηται ουτος μεντοι ουδεπο⟩
τε ταυτα εχων εν αυτω ομως ο⟩
αυτος καλειται αλλα νεος αιει γι
γνομενος τα δε απολλυς και κατα τας
τριχας και σαρκα κα[ι] οστα και αιμα και 207 E
σ[[ξ]]υμπαν το σωμα και μη οτι κατα το
σωμα αλλα [κ]αι κατα την ψυχην οι⟩
τροποι τα [η]θη δοξαι επιθυμιαι ηδο⟩
ναι λυπαι φοβοι τουτων εκαστα ουδε
ποτε ταυτα παρεστιν εκαστω αλλα
τα μεν γιγνεται τα δ απολλυται πο
[λ]υ δε τουτων ατοπω̣τερον ετι οτι και
αι επιστημαι μη οτι αι μεν γιγνονται 208 A
αι δε απολλυνται ημιν και ουδεπο⟩
τε οι αυτοι εσμεν ουδε κατα τας επι
στημας̣ α̣λ̣λα και μια εκαστη των⟩
επιστημων ταυτον πασχει ο γαρ κα
λειται μελεταν ως εξιουσης εστι της
επιστημης ληθη γαρ επιστημης ε⟩
ξοδος μελετη δε παλιν καινην εν
ποιουσα ̣αντι της απιουσης μνημη σω
ζει την επιστημην ωστε την αυ⟩
την δοκειν ειναι τουτω γαρ τω τρο
πω παν το θνητον σωζεται ὃυ τῶ
παντα̣πασιν το αυτον α̣ει ειναι⟩
ωσπερ το θειον αλλα τω το απιον 208 B

και παλαιουμενον ετερον νεον $\overline{εν}$
ενκαταλιπειν οιον αυτο ην ταυ⟩
τη τη μηχανη ω Σωκρατες εφη
θνητον αθανασιας μετεχει και
σωμα και ταλλα παντα αθανα⟩

Col. xi.

[το]ν δε α[λλη μη ουν θαυμαζε ει] το αυ
[του] αποβ[λαστημα φυσει παν] τειμα
αθ[ανασιας γαρ χαριν παντι α]υτη η
σπ[ο]υ[δη και ο ερως επεται και]γω α⟩
[κουσας τον λογον εθαυμασα] τε και⟩
[ειπο]ν ε[ιεν ην δ εγω ω σοφωτ]ατη Διο⟩
[τι]μα ταυτα ως [αληθως ο]υτως εχει⟩
[κα]ι ἡ ωσπερ οι τε[λεοι σοφ]ισται ευ ισθι 208 C
[εφ]η ω Σωκρατες [επει κ]αι των ανθρω
[π]ων ει εθελεις ε[ις την] φιλοτιμιαν
βλεψαι θαυμα[ζοις] αν της αλογιας
περι α εγω ειρηκ[α ει] μη εννοεις ενθυ
μηθεις ως δειν[ως δι]ακεινται ερωτι
του ονομαστ[οι γεν]εσθαι και κλεος
εις τον αιει χρονον αθανατον κα
ταθεσθαι και ὑπερ τουτου κινδυ
νους τε κινδυνευειν ετοιμοι εισι
παντας ετι μαλλο[ν η] ὑπερ των⟩
παιδων και χρημα[τ] αναλισκειν 208 D
και πονους πονειν [ο]υστινασουν
και ὑπεραποθνησκειν: επει οιει⟩
συ εφη Αλκηστιν ὑπερ Αδμητου
αποθανειν αν η Αχιλλεα Πατρο
κλω επαποθανειν η προαποθα
νειν τον ὑμετερον Κοδρον ὑπερ
της βαλειας των παιδων μη οιο⟩

μενους αθανατον μνημην αρε
της περι εαυτων εσεσθαι ην νυν⟩
ημεις εχομεν πολλου γε δει εφη⟩
αλλ οιμαι ὑπερ αρετης αθανατου
και τοιαυτης δοξης ευκλεους⟩
παντες παντα ποιουσιν οσω αν α
μεινους ωσι τοσουτω μαλλον του 208 E
γαρ αθαναν[ο]ν ερωσι· οι μεν ουν εν
κυμονες εφη κατα τα σωματα ον
τες προς τας γυναικας μαλλον τρε
πονται και ταυτη ερωτικοι εισι⟩
δια παιδογονιας αθανασιαν και
μνημην και ευδαιμονιαν ως οι
ονται αυτοις ει[ς το]ν επιτα χρο⟩
νον παντα πορι̣ζ[ο]μενοι οι δε⟩
κατα την ψυχην εισι γαρ ουν εφη 209 A
οι εν ταις ψυχαις κυουσιν ετι μαλλο̄
η εν τοις σωμασιν α ψυχη πρ[οσ]ηκι
ι
και κυησα τ[[α]]ε και τεκειν τι ουν προσ
ηκει φρονησιν τ[ε κα]ι την αλλην
αρετην ων δη ε[ισι κ]αι οι ποιητ[αι
πα[ντ]ες γεννη[τορε]ς και των δ[η

Col. xii.

μιουργων οσοι λεγονται ευρ[ετ]ικοι⟩
ε[ι]ναι πολυ δε μ[εγ]ιστη εφη [κ]αι καλ⟩
λιστη της φρονησεως η περι τας τω̄
πολεων τε και οικησεων [δ]ιακοσμη⟩
σις η δη ονομα εστιν σωφροσυνη τε
και δικαιοσυνη τουτων α̣υ οταν τις
εκ νεου εκκυμων η την ψυχην θειος 209 B
ων και ηκουσης της ηλικιας τικτεῑ
τε και γενναν ηδη επιθυμη ζητει

δη οιμαι και ουτος περιϊων το καλο̄
εν ω αν γεννησειεν εν [τω γ]αρ α̣σ̣χρω
ουδεποτε γεννησει τα τ[ε] ουν σωμα
τα τα καλα μαλλον η τ[α] αισχ[ρ]α ασπα
ζεται ατε κυω̃ν και αν εντυχη ψυ
χη καλη και γενναια̣ [και] ευφυει πα
νυ δη ασπαζεται[ι] το ξυνανφοτερο̄
και προ[ς] τ̣ουτον τον ανθρωπον ευ
θυς ευπ[ορ]ε̣[ι λο]γ[ων] περι αρετης και
περι οι[ον χρη] ειναι τον ανδρα τον 209 C
αγαθον και [α επιτ]ηδευειν και επι⟩
χειρει παιδευ[ειν] απτομε̣[ν]ος γαρ⟩
οιμαι του καλου και ομειλων α[υτω
α παλαι εκυει τ[ι]κτει και γενν[α και
παρ[[οντ]]ων και απων μεμνημεν[ος
και το γεννηθεν συνεκτρεφει κοι
νη μετ εκεινου ωστε πολυ μειζω⟩
κοινωνιαν της των παιδων προς
αλληλους οι τοιουτοι ϊσχουσι και⟩
φιλιαν βεβαιοτεραν ατε καλλειο⟩
νων και αθανατωτερων πα[ιδ]ων
κεκοινωνηκοτες και πας ἀν δεξαι
το εαυτω τοιουτους παιδας μαλλο̄
γεγονεναι η τους ανθρωπινους και 209 D
εις Ομηρον αποβλεψας και εις Ησιοδο̄
και τους αλλους ποιητας τους αγα⟩
θους ζηλων οια εγγονα [ε]αυτων κα
ταλειπουσιν α εκεινοι[ς] αθανατο̄
κλεος και μνημην πα[ρ]ε̣χεται αυ
τα τοιαυτα οντα· ει δε βουλει εφη
οιους Λυκουργος παιδας κατελιπε
το εν Λακεδαιμο[ν]ι̣ σωτηρας της
Λακεδαιμονος και ως εος ειπ[ειν
της Ελλαδος τιμιος δε πα[ρ] η̣μιν [και

ο Σολων δια την των νομων γεν⟩
νησιν και αλλοι αλλοθι πολλαχου 209 E
ανδρες και Ελλησι και εν [β]αρβαρ̣ις
πολλα και αλλα αποφ[ην]αμενοι⟩

Col. xiii.

εργα και γεννησαντες παντοιαν α⟩
ρετην ων και ἱερα πολλα ηδη γεγονε⟩
δια τους τοιουτους παιδας ἑια δε τους
ανθρωπινους ουδενος πω· ταυτα μ̄ε
ουν τα ερωτικα ἰσως ω Σωκρατες καν⟩
συ μυηθειης τα δε τελεα και εποπτικα 210 A
ων ενεκα και ταυτα εστιν εαν τις ορ⟩
θως μετιη ουκ οιδ ει οιος τ αν ειης· ερω
μεν ουν εφην εγω και προθυμιας ου
δεν απολειψω πειρω δε και συ επεσθαι
εαν οιος τε ης: δει γαρ εφη τον ορθως
> ἰ[ο]ντα επι τουτο το πραγμα αρχεσθα[ι]
μεν νεον οντα ἑεναι επι τα καλα σω⟩
ματα· και πρωτον μεν εαν ορθως η⟩
γηται ο ηγουμενος ενος αυτον σωμα
τος εραν και ενταυθα γενναν λογους
καλους επειτα δε αυτον κατονοη⟩
σαι οτι το καλλος το επι οτωουν σωμά 210 B
τι τω επι ετερω σωματι αδελφον εστι
και ει δει διωκειν το επ ειδει καλον⟩
πολλη ανοια μη ουχ εν τε και ταυτον
ηγεισθαι το επ[ι] πασι τοις σωμασι καλ
λος· τουτο δ ενν̣οησαντα καταστη
ναι παντων των καλων σωματ̄ω
εραστην ενος δε το σφοδρα τουτο χα
λασαι καταφρονησαντα και σμικρ̄ο
ηγησαμενον· μετα δε ταυτα το εν
ταις ψυχαις καλλος τιμιωτερον η⟩

γησασθαι του εν τω σωματι ωστε και
εαν επιεικης ων την ψυχην τις και
εάν σμικρον ανθος εχη εξαρκειν⟩ 210 C
αυτω[[ν]] και εραν και κηδεσθαι και τι
κτειν λογους τοιουτους και ζητειν
οιτινες ποιησουσι βελτειους τους⟩
σ
νεους ϊνα αναγκαθη αυ θεασασθαι
το εν τοις επιτηδευμασι και τοις⟩
νομοις καλον και τουτο ϊδειν οτι⟩
παν αυτο αυτω ξυγγενες εστιν⟩
ϊνα το π[ερ]ι το σωμα καλον σμικρον
τι ηγησῃ[τ]αι ει[να]ι μετα δε τα επι⟩
τηδευματα επι τας επιστημας⟩
αγαγειν ινα ειδη αυ επιστημῶν⟩
καλλος και βλεπ[ω]ν προς [π]ολυ ηδη⟩ 210 D
το καλον μηκετι το παρ ενι ωσπερ
οικετης αγαπων παιδαριου καλλος
[η] ανθρωπου τινος η επιτηδευμα
[το]ς [[τ]]ενος δουλευων φαυλος η και
[σμι]κρολογος αλλ επι το [πολ]υ πελα⟩

Col. xiv.

γος τ[ετρα]μμ[ενος του καλου] κα[ι] θεωρ[ῶ
πολ[λους κ]αι κα[λους λογους κ]αι μεγαλο⟩
πρε[πεις τι]κ[τει και διανοη]ματα εν φιλο
σοφ[ια αφθονω εως αν εντ]αυθα ρωσθεις
και αυξηθ[εις κατιδη τιν]α επιστημην
μιαν [τοιαυτην η εστ]ιν καλου τοιοῦδε
πειρω δε μ[οι εφη τον] νουν προσεχειν 210 E
ως οιον τε μ[αλιστ]α ος γαρ αν μεχρι εν
ταυθα προ[ς] τα ερωτ[ικ]α παιδαγωγη⟩
θη [θε]ωμεν[ος] εφε[ξης] τε και ορθως⟩
τα καλα προς τελος η[δη] ϊων των ερω

τι̣κ[ω]ν εξαιφνης κατ̣[ψε]ται τι θαυ⟩
μαστον την φυσιν κα[λον τουτ]ο ε⟩
κεινο ω Σ̓ωκρα[τες] ου [δη ενεκεν] κ̣α̣ι
οι εμπροσθεν παντε[ς πονοι ησα]ν̣⟩
πρωτον μεν αει ον κ̣[αι ουτε γιγνο 211 A
μενον ουτε απολλυ[μενον ουτε αυ
ξανομενον ουτε φ[θινον επειτα συ
τη μεν κο[λ]ον̣ τ̣η̣ [δ αισχρον ουδε το
ουδ[ε
τε μεν τοδε δε ου πρ̣[ος μεν το καλον
προς δε το αισχρον ουδ [εν]θα̣ [μεν κ]α
λον̣ ενθαδε δε αισχρο̣ν̣ ως τισι μεν ο̄
καλον τισιν δε αι̣σ̣[χρον] ουδ αυ φα[ντα
σθησεται αυτω το̣ κα]λ̣ον οιον π[ρο
σωπον τι ουδε χειρες ουδε αλλ[ο] ο̣υ̣
δε εν σωμα μετ̣ε̣χει ουδε τις λογο[ς
ουδε τις επιστημη ουδε π[ου ον εν ε
ω
τερ[[ου]] τινι οιον [εν] ζ̓ωω η εν γη η εν
ουρανω η έν τω [αλλω] α[λλ αυτο κα 211 B
θ αυτο μετ̣ αυτ̣ου̣ μ̣ονο[ειδες αει ον
τα δε αλλα παντα καλα εκ[ειν]ου με
τεχοντα τροπον τινα τοιου[τον οι
ον γιγνομενων τε των αλλων [και
απολλυμενων μηδεν εκεινο [μη
τε πλεον μητε ελαττον γιγνε̣σ
θαι μηδε πασχειν μηδεν οταν [δη
τις απο τωνδ̣ε̣ δια το ορθως πα[ιδε
ραστειν επανιων εκειν̣ο τ[ο] κ̣[αλον
αρχηται καθορ̣αν σχεδ[ον αν τι α
πτοιτο του τελους τουτο [γα]ρ̣ ε̣[η ε
στι το ορθως επι τα ερωτικ[α ιεναι 211 C
η ὑπ αλλου αγεσθαι αρχομ̣ενον α
πο τωνδε των καλων εκ[ειν]ου ενε
κα του καλου αει επανϊεν[αι ωσπερ

επαναβασμοις χρωμεν[ον απο ε
νος επι δυο και απο δυοι[ν επι παν
τα τα καλα σωματα και [απο των

Col. xv.

[κα]λ[ω]ν σωματων επι τα καλα επιτη
δευματα και απο των επιτηδευμα
τω[ν] επι τα καλα μαθηματα και α⟩
πο [τ]ων μαθηματων επι εκεινο το
μα[θ]ημ[α] τελευτησ[η] ο εστιν ουκ αλ
λου [η α]υτου εκ[εινου] του καλου μα⟩
θημ[α κ]αι γνω αυτῳ τελευτων[[τῶ]]
ο εστιν καλον εν[τ]αυθα του βιου ω⟩ 211 D
φιλε Σωκρατες εφη η Μαντινικη⟩
ξενῃ ειπερ που αλλοθι βιωτον αν
θρ[ω]πω θεωμενω αυτο το καλον ο ε⟩
ἀν ποτε ϊδης ου κατα χρυσον τ[ε]⟩
και [εσθ]ητα και τους καλους παιδα[ς
τε [κα]ι νεανισκους δοξει σοι ειναι
ους νυν ορων εκπεπληξαι και ετοι
μο[ς ει κ]α[ι] συ κ[α]ι αλλοι πολ[λ]οι ορωντες
τα [παι]δ[ι]κα και ξυν[ο]ν[τε]ς αει α[υ]τοις
ει πως οιον τε ην μητε εσ[θ]ιειν μητε
[πι]ειν αλλα μονον θεασασθαι και⟩
[ξ]υνειναι τι δητα εφη οιομεθα [ει τ]ω
γειοιτ[ο] αυτο το καλο[ν ιδειν ειλικρι 211 E
νες καθαρον αμικτον α[λλα μη ανα
πλεω σαρκων τε ανθρωπ[ινων και
[χ]ρω[μ]ατων και αλλης πολ[λης φλυ
αρια[ς θ]νητης αλλ αυτο τ[ο θειον κα
[λ]ον δυναιτο μονοειδες [κατιδειν α
[ρ] οιει εφη φαυλον βιον γιγ[ν]εσθ[αι εκει 212 A
[σε β]λεποντος ανθρωπου και εκ[εινο ω

[δει θεω]μενου και ξυ[νο]ντος α[υτω η
[ουκ ενθυ]μει εφη ο[τι ε]ν̣ταυθα [αυτω
[μοναχου γ]ε̣νησ[εται ο]ρωντι ω ο̣[ρατον
[το καλον τικτειν ουκ ειδωλ]α αρε̣τ̣[ης
[ατε ουκ ειδωλου εφαπτομεν]ω αλλ α〉
[ληθη ατε του] αληθου[ς εφα]πτομεν[ω
[αλλ αληθη α]τε το[υ αλ]ηθους εφαπτ[ο
[μενω τεκο]ντι δε αρετην αληθ[η και
[θρεψα]μ̣ε̣ι̣ω ὑπαρχει θεοφιλει γε[νεσ
[θ]α̣ι̣ [κ]αι ειπέρ τω αλλω ανθρωπω[ν α
[θα̣ν̣ατ̣ω̣ [κ]ακεινω· ταυτα δη Φαι̣[δρε 212 B
[τ]ε κ[α]ι [οι] αλλοι εφη μεν Δ̣ιοτ̣ι̣μα πε〉
πει̣σ̣[μαι] δ εγω πεπεισμενος δε πειρ[ω
μ[α]ι και τους αλλους πειθειν οτι του
[τ]ου του κτημα[τος τη] ανθ[ρ]ωπεια
[φυσει ξ]υ̣ν̣ε̣ρ̣γον αμεινω ερωτ[ος
ουκ [α]ν τι̣ς̣ ρ̣αδιως λαβοι δι̣ο̣ δη εγω
γε φ̣η̣μι χρηναι π[α]ντ' ανδρα τον〉
[ε]ρωτα τιμαν και αυτος τιμω τα
[ε]ρωτικα [κ]αι διαφεροντως ασκω〉

Col. xvi.

και [τοις αλλ]οις παρακελευ̣ο̣μαι και〉
νυν τε κ[αι α]ιει εγκωμιαζω τον ερω〉
τα την δ̣[υ]ναμιν και ανδρειαν του
ερωτος κ[αθ οσον] οιος τ ειμι τουτον
ουν τον [λογον ω Φαιδ]ρε ει μεν ει μη 212 C
βουλει ω[ς ε]γκωμ̣[ιο]ν̣ εις ερωτα νο〉
μισον ειρησθα[ι] ει δε οτι και οπη χαι
ρεις ονομαζων τουτο ο[ν]ομαζε: ει
ποντος δε ταυτα του Σ̣ωκρατους
τους μεν επαινειν τον δε Αριστο
φανη επιχειρ[ε]ιν λεγειν τι οτι ε〉

μνησθη αυτου λεγων ο Σωκρατης
περι του λογου και εξαιφνης την⟩
αυλειον θυραν κρουομενην πολῦ
ψοφον παρασχειν ως κωμαστῶ
και αυλητριδος φωνην ακουειν
τον ουν Αγα[θ]ωνα παιδες φαναι⟩
ου κεψεσθε και αν μεν τις των ε⟩ 212 D
πιτηδειων η καλ[ε]ιτε ει δε μη λε
γετε οτι ου πε̣ινομεν αλλα παυο⟩
[μεθα η]δ̣η και ου πολυ ὕστερον Αλ
κι[βιαδ]ου την φωνην ακουειν εν
[τη αυ]λη σφοδρα με[θ]υοντος και⟩
[μεγα] β̣ο̣ωντος ερωτωντος οπου⟩
Αγ̣[αθ]ων και κελευοντ[ο]ς αγειν⟩
παρα Αγαθωνα· αγει ουν αυτον πα
ρα σφας [τ]ην τε αυλητριδα ὕπο⟩
λαβουσαν και αλλους τινας των
ακολου[θ]ων [κ]αι επιστηναι επι⟩
τ[α]ς θυρας εστεφανωμενον αυτῶ 212 E
κιτ[το]υ τε νι στεφανωμενον αυ
[τον κι]ττου τε τινι στεφανω⟩
[μεν]ο̣ν δασι και ἴων και ταινιας
[εχοντ]α επι της κεφαλης πανυ⟩
[πολλ]ας και ειπειν· ανδρ[ε]ς χαιρε
[τε με]θυοντα ανδρα παν[υ] σφοδρα
[δε]ξεσθ[[α]]ε ξυμποτην η απ[ιω]μεν⟩
[αν]αδησαντες μονον Αγαθωνα εφ ο
π[ε]ρ ηλθομεν εγω γαρ τοι φαναι ε⟩
χθες μεν ουχ οι[ος] τ εγενομην αφι⟩
κ[εσθ]α̣[ι] νυν δε ηκω ε̣π̣ι τη κεφαλη⟩
[ε]χ̣ων [τ]ας ταινιας ἵ̣να απο τ̣[η]ς̣ ε⟩
μης κεφαλης τ[ην] του σοφ̣ωτατ[ο]υ̣
και κα[λλ]ι̣στου [κε]φαλη[ν εαν ειπω

ουτωσϊ αναδ[η]σω αρ[α καταγελασε
σθε μου ως μεθυοντος [εγω δε καν
ὕμεις γελατε ὁμω̣[ς ευ οιδ στι αλη 213 A

Col. xvii.

θη λεγω αλλα [μοι λεγετε αυτοθεν επι
ρητοις εισιω η μ̣η [συμπιεσθε η ου παν
τας ουν αναθορυβησ[αι και κελευειν εισ
ειεναι και κ[α]τακλε[ινεσθαι και τον Αγα
θω̃να καλειν αυτο[ν και τον ιεναι αγο
μενον ὕπο των αν[θρωπων και πε
ριαιρουμενον αμα [τας ταινιας ως
αναδησοντα επιπρ[οσθε των οφθαλ
μων εχοντα ου κατ[ιδειν τον Σωκρα
τη αλλα καθιζεσθ[αι παρα τον Αγα
θωνα εν μεσω Σωκρα[τους τε και εκει 213 B
νου· παραχωρησαι [γαρ τον Σωκρατη
ως εκεινον κατιδε[ν παρακαθεζο
μενον δε αυτον α̣[σπαζεσθαι τε τον
Αγαθωνα και α̣ν̣[αδειν ειπειν ουν
τον Αγαθωνα υ[πολυετε παιδες Αλ
κιβιαδην ϊνα εκ τριτ[ων κατακει
ται: πανυ γ ειπειν το[ν Αλκιβιαδην
αλλα τις ημειν οδε τρι[τος ξυμποτης
και αμα μεταστρεφομενον αυτ[ον
οραν τον Σωκρατη ϊδοντα δε αν[α
πηδησαι και ειπειν: ω Ηρακλεις του
τι τι ην· Σωκρα[της ουτος ελλοχων
αυ με ενταυθα [κατεκεισο ωσπερ ει 213 C
ωθεις εξαιφνης [αναφαινεσθαι
κατεκεισο ωσπερ [ειωθεις εξαιφνης
αναφαινεσθαι οπου εγω [ωμην ηκι
στα σε εσ[ε]σθαι και νυν τι ηκ[εις και
τι αυ ενταυθα κατε[κλινης ως ου

παρα [Αριστ]ο̣φανει ο̣υ̣[δ ει τις αλλος
[γ]ελοιο[ς εσ]τι [τ]ε και βουλ̣ε̣[ται αλλα
ϊ̣[ι] ε̣μηχ̣α̣νησω [οπ]ω̣ς̣ πα[ρα τω καλ
790 λιστω τ[ων ε]νδο[ν κατακεισ̣η και
[τον Σωκρατ]η̣ Α̣[γαθων φαναι ορα ει μοι
επ̣[αμυνεις] ω̣ς̣ ε̣[μοι ο τουτου ερως του
α[νθρω]π̣[ο]υ ο[υ φαυλον πραγμα γεγο
ν[εν] απ εκεινου [γ]αρ τ[ου χρονου α
795 φ ου τουτου ηρασθ[ην ουκετι εξε 213 D
στι μοι ουτε προσβλεψ̣[αι ουτε δια
λεχθηναι καλω ουδ[ενι η ουτοσι
ζηλοτυπ[ω]ν με και φ[θονων θαυ
μαστ[α εργαζεται και λοιδορειται
800 τ̣ε̣ κ[αι τω χειρε μ]ο̣γις α[πεχεται ορα
ουν μη τι και νυν [εργασηται αλλα
διαλλαξ[ον] ημ[ας η εαν επιχειρη
β[ι]αζεσθαι επα[μυνε ως εγω την
τουτου μαν[ιαν τε και φιλεραστι
805 αν πανυ ο[ρρωδω αλλ ουκ εστι

Col. xviii.

[φαναι] τον Αλκ[ι]β̣ι̣[αδην εμοι και σοι
[διαλλ]αγη· αλλα τουτ[ων μεν εις αυθις
[σε τειμω]ρησομαι· νυν δε [μοι Αγαθων 213 E
[φαναι] μεταδος των ταιν[ιων ινα
810 [αναδησω] και την του[του ταυτηνι
[την θαυμ]αστην κε[φαλην και μη
[μοι μεμφη]ται [ο]τι [σε μεν ανεδησα
. . . . . .

Col. xxiii.

[μαι Σωκ]ρατες εξελεγ[χε] συνεγινο〉 217 B
[μην γαρ ω] ανδρες μον[ος] μονω και ωμῑ
815 [αυτικα δι]αλεξ[[α]]εσθαι [α]υτον μοι απερ〉

[αν εραστης] π̣[α]ι̣[δ]̣ικοι[ς ε]ν ερημια διαλε
[χθειη και ε]χ̣αιρ̣ον τουτων δη μαλα ε[ ]
[γιγνετο ουδεν αλλ ωσ]π[ε]ρ ειωθει διαλ̣ε̣
[χθεις αν μοι και συν]̣η̣[μ]ερευσας ωχετο⟩
[απιων μετα ταυτα σ]υνγυμναζε̣σαι
[προυκαλουμην] αυτον και συνεγυμνα 217 C
[ζομην ως] τι ε̣νταυθ[α πε]ραινων συν⟩
[εγυμναζ]ετο [ουν μο]ι̣ κ̣[αι] προ[σ]επ[αλα]ι̣[ε̄
[πολλακις ουδενος π]αρο[ντος κ]α̣ι̣ [τι δει
[λεγειν ουδε]ν̣ γαρ μοι πλεο[ν ην ε]πει⟩
η
[δη δε ου]δαμη ταυτ ηνυτ[ον ε]δ̣[οξε
[μοι επιθετεο]ν ειναι τω ανδρι κατα
[το καρτερ]ον και ουκ ανετ[[α]]εον επει⟩
ρη
[δηπερ εν]εκειχ̣ειη αλλα ει[[κειν]]στέον
[ηδη τι] εστι το πραγμα· προκαλου⟩
[μαι δ]η αυτον προς τ[ο σ]υνδειπνεῑ
[ατεχν]ως ωσπερ εραστης παιδικοις
[επιβουλ]ευων· και μοι ουδε τουτο[[υ]]⟩
ν
[ταχυ υπ]ηκουσεν· ομως δ ου χρονω⟩ 217 D
[επεισθη ε]πειδη δε αφικετο το πρωτο̄
[δειπνη]σας απιεναι εβουλετο· και⟩
[τοτε με]ν αισχυνομενος α̣[φηκα
[αυτον α]υθις δ επι[βο]υλε[υσας επει
[δη εδεδει]πν[η]κει διελεγομην πορ
[ρω των νυ]κτων και επειδη γε εβου
[λετο απιεν]αι σκ[η]πτομενος οτι οψαι
ι
[ειη προσ]η̣ναγκ[α]σα αυτον μενεν
[ανεπαυε]το ουν [ε]ν τη εχομενη ε⟩
κ
[μου κλε]ι̣νη εν η[περ εδει]πνει αι ου
[δεις εν] τω οικη[ματι αλλος καθην
[δεν] η ημεις· μ[εχρι μεν ουν δη δευ 217 E
[ρο τ]ου λογου κα[λως αν εχοι κ]αι προς ον

[τιν]ουν λεγειν [το δ ε]ντευθεν ουκ ᾱ
[μο]υ ηκουσατε λε[γον]τ[ο]ς ει μη πρω
[τον μ]εν το λε[γο]μ[εν]ον οινος αν[ε]υ
τε παιδων και μετ[α] παιδων ην
[α]ληθης· επειτα [αφα]νισα Σωκρα⟩
[τ]ους εργον ὑπερη[φαν]ον εις επα[ι
[νο]ν ελθοντα αδικ[ον] μοι φαινε[ται
[ετι] δε το του δηχ[θε]ντος ὑπο τ[ου
[εχεως] παθος καμε [εχ]ει· φασ[ι γαρ
[που τ]ινα τουτο παθοντα ου[κ ε

Col. xxiv.

ουκ εθελειν λεγειν οιο[ν ην πλην τοις δε
δηγμενοις ως μον[οις γνωσομενοις και ξυγ 218 A
γνωσομενοις ει παν [ετολμα δραν τε και
λεγειν ὑπο της οδυ[νης εγω] ουν δ[εδηγ
μενος τε ὑπο αλγινοτερου και τ[ο αλγι
νοτατον ων αν τις δηχθειη· τη[ν] καρ
διαν γαρ η ψυχην η οτι δει αυτο ο[νο]⟩
μασαι πληγεις τε και δηχθεις ὑπ[ο τ]ω̄
[ε]ν φιλοσοφια λογων οι εχοντ[αι εχι]⟩
[δν]ης αγριωτερον νέου ψυχη[ς μ]η α
φ[υου]ς οταν λ[α]βωνται και ποιου[σι δρᾱ
τε και λεγει[ν οτι]ουν [κα]ι ορων αυ Φα[ι
δρους [Αγ]α̣θ̣[ων]ας Ε̣ρ̣[υξιμ]αχους Π̣[αυ 218 B
[σανιας Αριστοδημο]υς τε και Α[ριστο
φ[ανας Σωκρατ]η̣ [δ]ε̣ αυτον τι δ̣[ει λε
γει[ν κ]α̣ι οσ[οι αλ]λοι· παντες γα[ρ κεκοι
νωνηκατε της φιλοσοφου [[φ̣]]α[νιας
τε και βακχιας· διο παντες α[κου
σεσθ[ε] συνγνωσεσθε γαρ τοις τ[ε τοτε
[πραχ]θεισ[ι] και τοις νυν λεγομε̣[νοις
[οι δ οι]κεται και ει τις αλλος εστ[ιν βε

β[ηλ]ος τε και αγρ[οικος] πυλας π[α]ν[υ
[μεγαλ]ας τοις ωσιν [επιθ]εσθ[[α]]ε· [ε]πει⟩
δη [γ]ᾰ[ρ] ουν ω ανδρες ο τε λυχ[νος α]πτ̣ε
σβ[ηκει και ο]ι π[αιδ]ες εξω ησαν [εδο 218 C
[ξε μοι χρηναι μ]ηδ[ε]ν ποικιλλ[ειν
[προς αυτον αλλ ε]λευθερως ειπειν α
[μοι εδοκει και ειπ]ον και κεινησας⟩
αυτ[ον Σ̓ωκρατες κα]θευδεις: ου δη
τ[α η δ ος οισθα ουν α μο]ι δεδοκται⟩
τι μα[λιστα εφη συ εμο]ι δοκεις ην⟩
δ εγω [εμο]υ̣ ερα[στης α]ξ̣[ι]ος γεγον[ε]ναι
μονο̣[ς και] μοι φα[ιν]ει οκνειν μνη⟩
σθην[αι πρ]ος με· εγω δε ουτωσϊ [εχ]ω·
πανυ [ανο]ητ[ο]ν ηγουμαι ειναι σοι μη
ου και [του]το χα[ρ]ισασθαι και ει τι αλ
λο η τη[ς] ουσιας τη[ς] εμης δεοιο η τω̃
[φι]λων τ[ω]ν εμων[·] εμο[ι] μεν γαρ ου 218 D
δ̣[εν εστι] πρεσβυτερ[ον τ]ου ως οτι⟩
[β]ελτιστ[ο]ν εμε γεν[εσθαι]· τουτο[υ
δε ο[ι]μα[ι μο]ι συλληπ[τορα ο]υδε[να
κυριωτερον ε[ι]ναι σο[υ εγω δη τοι
ουτω ανδρι πολυ μα[λλον α]ν μη
χαριζομενος αισχ[υνοιμην] τους
φρονιμους η χαρι[ζομενος τ]ους⟩

Col. xxv.

τε [πολλους και αφ]ρονας και [ουτος α
[κουσας μαλα ειρω]νικως και σφ[οδρ]α
φιλε
[εαυ]του [τε και ειωθ]οτως ελεξε: ω Αλ
[κι]βιαδη κι[νδ]υ̣[ν]ευεις τω οντι ου⟩
φαυλος ει[ναι ε]ι̣[π]ερ [α]ληθη τυγχανει
ον[τα] α λεγεις περι εμου και τις εστ' ε 218 E
ν [εμοι δ]υναμις δ' ης αν [σ]υ γενοιο α

910 μεινων α[μη]χανον [τ]οι καλλος ορω
ης αν ε[ν ε]μοι και της παρα σοι ευμορ
φ[ι]ας πα[μ]πολυ δι[α]φ[ερ]ον ει δη καθο
[ρων αυτο] κ[οιν]ω̣σασθαι τε μοι επι⟩
[χ]ι̣ρ̣ει̣ς και αλ[λ]αξασθαι καλλος αντι
915 καλλους ουκ ολιγω μου πλεονεκτειν
διανοει αλλ αντι [δ]οξης αληθειαν⟩
καλ[[ω]]ν κτασθαι επιχειρεις και̣ τω⟩
ε
οντι χρυσια χαλκει̣ων [διαμειβεσθαι 219 A
ν̣οεις· αλλ ω μακαριε αμεινον [σκο
920 πει μη σε λανθανω [ουδ]εν ων η τοι
της διανοιας οψις αρχε̣τ̣α̣ι οξυ βλε
πειν οταν ἡ των ομματων της⟩
ακμης λ̣η̣γ̣ει̣ν ε̣π̣ι̣χειρη συ [δε] του⟩
των ετι̣ [π]ορρω· και εγω ακουσας :⟩
925 τα μεν παρ εμου ε̣φ̣ην [τα]υτα εσ[τι]
ων ουδ[ε]ν αλλως ειρηται η ω[ς] δι̣α [⟩]
ν̣[οουμ]α̣ι̣ σ̣υ̣ [δε αυτος ο]υ̣τ̣[ω] βουλε̣υ 219 B
[ου σοι τε] ο̣τι α̣[ριστον και εμ]οι ηγε[ι :]
αλλ [εφη τουτο γ ευ λεγεις ε]ν γαρ τω
930 επιον[τι χρονω βουλευομενοι] πρα
ξομε[ν ο αν] φαινητα[ι νων περι
τ̣ε̣ τουτων και περι [των αλλων
αριστον[:] ε[γω] μεν δ[η ταυτα ακου
σα[[ν]] τε κ[αι ειπ]ων κα[ι] αφεις ω[σπερ
935 βελει τετ[ρω]σθαι αυτον ωμ[ην και
αναστα[ς γε] ουδ επιτρεψας τ[ουτω
ειπειν ουδ[εν ετι] αμφιε[σ]α[ς το ιμα
τιον το εμα[υτο]υ τ[ουτο]ν και [γαρ
ην χειμων ϋπ[ο τον τριβω]να κα[⟩]
940 τακλινεις το[ν τουτουι π]εριβαλω̄
τω χειρε το[υτω τω δαι]μονιω ως 219 C
α̣λ̣ηθως κα[ι θαυμαστ]ω̣ κατεκει⟩

μη[ν την νυκτα ολη]ν και ουδε⟩
ταυ[τ αυ ω Σωκρατες ε]ρεις [ο]τι [ψε]υ
δομ[αι ποιησαντος δε δη ταυτα
εμου [ουτος τοσουτον περιεγε]νε
το τ[ε] κ[αι κατεφρονησεν και κ]ατε

Col. xxvi.

γελασεν της εμης ωρας και υβρισεν [και
περι εκεινο γε ωμην τι ειναι ω αν[δρες]⟩
σ
δικασται δικασται γαρ ετε της Σ[ωκρα
[τους] ὑπερηφαν[ια]ς: ευ γ[αρ ι]στ[ε μα θεους
[μα θεας ο]υ[δεν] περιττ[οτερο]ν κ[αταδε
δα[ρθ]ηκ[ω]ς ανε[στην με]τα Σωκρα[τους] 219 D
η ει μετα πατρ[ος καθην]δον η αδελφου
τα
πρεσβυτερου: [το δ]η με τουτο τ[ι]να
οιεσθε με διαν[οια]ν εχε[ιν] ηγουμενο
μεν ητιμασθ[αι α]γαμεν[ον δε] την του
του φυσιν τ[ε και σω]φροσυνην κα[ι αν
δρειαν εντ[ε]τυχηκοτα ανθρ[ω]πω⟩
ο
τοιουτω οιω ε[γ]ω [ο]υκ αν ωμην π[ο]τε⟩
εντυχειν εις φρονησ[ιν κ]αι ει[ς εγ
δ ι
κρατειαν ωστ[ε ο]ι[[θ]] οπω[ς] ουν οργζοι⟩
μην ειχον ει κ[αι α]ποστερηθειην⟩
[τ]ης τουτ[ο]υ [συ]νου[[θ]]σιας· ουτε οπη
προσαγαγοιμη[ν] αυτον ευπορουν
[ε]υ γαρ ηδειν οτι χρημασι γε πολυ⟩ 219 E
μαλλον ατρωτος ην πανταχη η
σιδηρω ο Αιας· ω τε ωμην αυτον μο
σ
νω αλωσεθαι διεπεφευγει με ηπο⟩
ρουν δη κατα[δ]εδουλωμενος τε ὑ
πο του ανθρωπου ως ουδεις ὑπ [ου

δενος αλλου περιη[[ε]]ϊα ταυτα τε [γ]αρ
μοι απαντα προυγεγονει και με⟩
ε
τα τ[α]υτα στρατια ημειν [ε]ις Πο⟩
[τ]ε[ι]δαιαν εγενετο κοινη και σ[υ]ν
εσειτουμεν εκει· πρωτον μεν οῡ
τοις πονοις ου μονον εμου πε[ρ]ι̣[ῑ]
[α]λλα και των αλλων απαντω[ν]
[οπο]ταν αναγκασθειημεν· απο⟩
ι
[λειφθ]εντες που οα δη επι στρατει
[ας ασει]τειν ουδεν ησαν οι αλλοι προς 220 A
τ[ο] κ[α]ρτερειν εν τ' αυ ταις ευωχιαις
α
μονος απολλυειν οιος τ ην τα τ αλ
λα και πινειν ουκ εθελων οποτε α⟩
ν[α]γκασθειη παντας εκρατει· και
α
[ο] π[αν]των θυμασιωτατον Σωκρα
[τ]η μεθυοντα ουδεις πωποτε εω⟩
ρ̣[α]κ̣ε̣ν ανθρωπων τουτου μεν οῡ
μ̣[ο]ι δοκει και αυτικα ο ελεγχος ε⟩
[σεσθ]α̣ι προς δε αυ τας του χειμω
ει
[νος καρ]τερησ[[α]]ς δ[ε]ινο[ι] γαρ αυτο
[θι χειμων]ες θαυμ[α]σια ειργαζε
[το τα τε αλ]λα [και] ποτε οντος [[ϋ]]πα 220 B
γου οιου δ[εινο]τατου και παντων

Col. xxvii.

η ουκ εξιοντων [ε]νδοθεν η ει [τ]ις ε⟩
ξιοι ημφιεσμενων [[δ]] τε θαυμαστα̣ δη
οσα και ϋποδεδεμενων και εν[ει]λιγ
μενων τους [ποδας ε]ις πειλου[ς] και
αρνακιδας ουτος [ε]ν τ[ουτοι]ς εξ[ηει
εχων ϊματιον μ[εν] τοιουτον [οιο]ν

περ και προτερον ειωθει φορε[ιν] αν
ὑποδη[τ]ος δε δια του κρυστα[λ]λου
ρα[ο]ν επορευετο η οι αλλοι ὑποδε
δ[εμ]εν[ο]ι οι δε στρατιωτα[ι] ὑ[πεβ]λε
π[ον] αυ[τ]ον ως καταφρονο[υ]ν[τ]α σ⟩ 220 C
φ[ων] και ταυτα μεν δη ταυτα οιον
δ [αυ] τοδ ερ[ε]ξε [κ]αι ετλη καρτερος
αν[η]ρ εκ[ει πο]τε επι στρατιας αξιον
ακ[ο]υσ[αι συννο]ησας γαρ αυτοθι⟩
[εωθεν τι ε]ιστ[ηκε]ι σκοπων και επι
δ̣η ̣ου πρου[χωρε]ι αυτω ουκ ανειη⟩
α[λλα] ειστη[κει ζ]ητων και ηδη η̄
μεσημβρια [κα]ι ανθρωποι ησ[θ]ανο̄
το κ̣[αι] θαυμ[α]ζοντες αλλος αλλω
ελεγεν οτι Σωκρατης ως εξ εωθ[[ε]]ι
ν[ο]υ φροντιζων τι εστηκε: τελευ
τ[ων]τες δ[ε τιν]ες των Ἰωνων ε⟩
πειδη [εσπερα ην δει]πνησαντες
κ[αι γ]αρ θερο[ς τοτ]ε γε [ην χ]αμευνια⟩ 220 D
εξ[ε]νεγκαμε[νοι] αμα μεν εν τω ψυχει
κ[αθη]υδον α[μα δ ε]φυλαττον αυτον⟩
[ει και την νυκτα] εστηξοι ο δε ειστη
κει [μεχρι εως εγεν]ετο και ηλιο[ς] ανε⟩
σχεν ε[πειτα ωχετ]ο απιων προσευξα
μ[εν]ος [τω ηλιω ει] δ[ε] βουλεσθε και εν⟩
ταις μα[χαις τουτ]ο γαρ δη δικαιον γε
αυτω [αποδουν]αι οτε γ[α]ρ η μαχη η̄
εξ ης εμοι [και τ]α αρ[ι]στ[ει]α εδοσαν οι
στρατη[γοι ουδ]εις [α]λλος εμε εσωσεν
α[νθ]ρωπων [η ουτος] τετρωμενον⟩ 220 E
[ουκ εθ]ελων α[πολιπει]ν αλλα συνδιε
σ̣[ωσε και] τα οπλα [και αυ]τον εμε και εγω
μ[εν] ω Σωκρατες κ[αι το]τε εκελευον⟩
σο[ι δ]ιδοναι τα αρισ[τεια] τους στρατη⟩

μ
γ[ους] και τουτο γε μ[οι] ουτε με[[υ]]ψει ουτε ε⟩
ρ[εις] οτι ψευδ[ομαι] α̣[λλ]α γαρ των στρα⟩
[τηγων] πρ[ος το εμο]ν αξ[ι]ωμα αποβλε
[ποντων] κ̣[αι βουλ]ομενων εμοι διδο⟩
[ναι τα αριστεια] α̣υ̣τ̣ο[ς] προθυμοτερος
[εγενου των στρα]τηγων εμε λαβειν⟩
[η σαυτον ετι τοι]νυν ω α[νδ]ρ[ε]ς̣ α̣[ξ]ι̣ο̣̄

Col. xxviii.

[ην θεασ]ασθαι Σωκρατην οτε απο Δηλιου
[φυγη α]νεχωρει το στρατοπεδον· ετυχο̄ 221 A
γ[αρ παρ]αγενομενος ϊππον εχ[ων] ουτος
δ[ε οπλα]· ανεχωρει ουν εσκ[εδασμε]ν̣[ω]ν
η[δη] των ανθρωπ̣ων ουτος τε αμα κ[αι
[Λ]αχης και εγω περιτυγχανω[· κ]αι ϊδω̄
ευθυς παρακελευομαι τε αυτοιν θαρ
ε
ριν και ελεγον οτι ουκ απολειψω αυτω
ε[ντ]αυθα δη και καλλειον εθεασαμη̄
[Σ]ωκρατη η [εν] Ποτ[ει]δαια· αυτος γαρ⟩
ηττον εν φ[οβ]ω η δ[ι]α το εφ ιππου ειναι
πρω̣[το]ν μεν ο[σον] περιην Λαχητος τω 221 B
ενφρ[ω]ν ειναι επειτα εμ[οι]γε εδοκει ω Α
ριστοφανες το σ[ο]ν δη τουτο και εκει⟩
διαπορευε[σθ]αι ωσπερ και ενθαδε βρεν
θ
θυομενος τε και̣ [τ]ω οφαλμω [πα]ραβαλ
λων ηρεμα παρ[α]σκοπων κ[αι] τους φι
λους και τους πολεμιους δη[λ]ος ων⟩
παντι και πανυ πορρωθ[ε]ν̣ οτι ει τις
αψαιτο τ̣[ουτου το]υ ανδρος μαλα⟩
ερρωμεν[ως α]μυνειται· διο και ασφα
λω[ς α]πηει και αυτος και ο ετερος σχε⟩
δο[ν] γαρ τι τω̣ν [ο]υτως διακειμενω̄
εν τω πολεμω ουδε απτονται α[λλ]α

[το]υς προτροπαδην φευγο̣ντα[ς δι 221 C
ωκουσιν· πολλα μεν ουν α̣[ν] τις κα[ι
αλ[λ]α εχοι Σωκρατην επαινεσαι και⟩
θαυμασια α[λλα των αλ]λων [ε]π̣ιτηδευ
1070 ματων ταχ αν τ[ις] κα[ι] περι α[λ]λου τοι⟩
αυτα ειποι· το δε δη μηδεν[ι α]νθρωπ
ομοιον ειν[αι] μητε τω̣[ν] παλ[αι]ων μη
τε των [νυν ον]των [τουτο αξι]ον παν
τος θαυμ[ατο]ς οιος γαρ [Αχιλ]λευς εγενε
1075 το απεικ[ασει]εν αν τ[ις και] Βρασιδα[ν]
και αλλους κ[αι ο]ιος α̣[υ Περικλ]ης και Νε⟩
στορα και Αντην[ο]ρα· εισι δε [κ]αι ετε[ρ]οι και τους
a
αλλους κτα ταυτα αν τ[ις] και τους αλλου[ς α]⟩ 221 D
πεικαζοι οιος δ[ε ο]υτοσ̈ι γεγονεν τ[η]ν
1080 ατοπιαν ανθρωπος και αυτος και οι λ[ο]
γοι αυτου ουδ εγγυς αν ευροι τις ζητων
ουτε των νυν ουτε των παλαιων· ει
μη αρα οις εγω [λεγ]ω απεικαζοι τις αυ
τον ανθρωπ[ων μεν] μηδενι τοις [δ]ε⟩
1085 σειληνο[ις] κα̣[ι σατυρ]οι[ς] αυτον κα̣[ι]⟩
τους λογο̣[υς και γαρ ουν κ]αι τουτ[ο ε]ν⟩
τοις [πρωτοις παρελιπον ο]τι κα[ι] ο̣ι λο

Col. xxix.

γοι αυτου ομο̣[ι]οτατοι εισι τοι[ς σε]ιληνοις
τοις διοιγομ[ενοις] ει γαρ εθελ[οι τι]ς τω̄ 221 E
1090 Σ[ωκ]ρατους ακου[ει]ν λογων φ̣[ανειε]ν̣ [α]ν̣
π[α]νυ γελοιο[ι] τ[ο] π̣[ρ]ωτον τοιαυτα κα̣[ι
ονοματα κα̣[ι] ρηματα εξωθεν περι⟩
π
αμ[[φ]]εχονται σατυρου τινα ϋβριστου
δο[ρα]ν· ονους γαρ κανθηλινους λεγει
1095 και [χ]αλκεας τινας και σκυτοτομους
και βυρσοδ[εψ]ας και αει δια των αυτω̄

ταυτα φαινεται λεγειν ωστε απειρος
και ανοητος ανθρωπο[[ν]]ˢ πας αν των〉 222 A
λογ[ω]ν καταγε[λ]ασειεν διοιγομενους
δε ἰδων αν τις και εν[το]ς αυτων γιγνο
μενος πρωτον μεν ν[ουν] εχοντας εν〉
δον μονους ευρησει των λογων επει
τα θειοτατους και πλειστα [α]γαλμα
τα αρετης εν αυτοις εχοντας και ε〉
πι πλειστον τινοντας μαλλον δ επι
παν οσον προσηκ[ει σ]κοπειν τω μελ
λοντι καλω καγαθω εσεσθαι· ταυτα
ταυτα εστιν ω ανδρες α εγω Σωκρα
τη επαινω και αυ α μεμφομαι συμ
μειξας ημει[ν] ειπον α με ὕβρισεν〉
και μεντοι ουκ εμε μονον ταυτ[α]〉 222 B
πεπ[ο]ιηκεν αλλα και Χαρμιδην τ[ο]
Γλαυκ[ω]νος και Ευθ[υ]δημον τον [Δι]
οκλεους και αλλους πολλους· ους ου
τ[ο]ς εξαπατων ως εραστης παιδικα
μαλλον αυτος καθισταται αντ ερα〉
στου· α δη και σοι λεγω Αγαθων μη ε〉
ξαπατασθαι ὕπο τ[ουτο]υ αλλ [[υ]]ᵃπο τω
ημετερων παθη[ματω]ν γνοντα〉
ευλαβηθηναι και μ[η κα]τα την πα〉
ροιμιαν ωσπερ νη[πιο]ν παθοντα〉
[γ]νωναι· ειποντος δη ταυτα του 222 C
Αλκιβιαδου γελωτα γενεσθαι [ε]πι
τη παρησια αυτου οτι εδοκει τ[ι]ᵉ ε
ρωτικως εχειν του Σωκρατους〉
τον ουν Σωκρατη[:] νηφειν μοι
δοκεις [[ε]]ᵃⁱφν ω Αλκιβιαδη [ο]υ γαρ

αν ποτε ουτω κομψως κυκλω⟩
περιβαλλομεν[ο]ς αφανισαι ε[ν]ε
[χε]ιρεις ουνεκα τ̣α̣υ̣τα πα[ν]τα
[ειρ]ηκας· κ[α]ι ως [ε]ν [παρ]εργω δη[[λε]]⟩
[λεγ]ων επι τελ[ε]υτ[ης α]υτο εθηκας⟩

Col. xxx.

ως ου παντα τουτου ενεκα ειρηκως⟩
του εμε και [Α]γαθωνα διαβαλλειν οι 222 D
[ομ]ενος δειν εμε μ[εν σ]ου εραν και μη⟩
[δ]ενος αλλο̣υ̣ [Α]γαθωνα δε ὑπο σου ερασθαι
και μηδ υφ [ε]νος αλλου αλλ ουκ ελαθες⟩
αλλα το σατυρικον σου δραμα τουτο
κ[αι] σειληνικον καταδηλον εγενε
το· αλλ ω φιλε Αγαθων μηδεν πλεον
αυτω γενηται αλλα παρασκευαζου
οπως εμε και σε μηδεις διαβαλει τον
[ο]υν Αγαθωνα ε̣ιπειν και μην ω Σω⟩
κρατες κινδυνευεις αληθη λεγ[ε]ιν 222 E
τεκμαιρομαι δε και ως κατεκλινη
εν μεσω εμου τε και σου ἱνα χωρις⟩
ημας διαλαβη· ουδεν ουν πλεον⟩
α σε ω
αυτω εσται αλλ εγω παρ ελθ[[ε]]ν κατα
κλινησομα[ι]: πανυ γε φαναι τον
Σωκρατη δευρο ὑποκατω εμου κα⟩
τακλεινου: ω Ζευ ειπειν τον Αλκι
βιαδην οια αυ πασχω ὑπο του ανθρω
που οιεται μου δειν πανταχη περι
αλλο ε
ἱεναι· αλλ ει μη τι ω θαυμασι εν [[με]]
με[σω η]μων εα Αγαθωνα κατακει⟩
[σθαι] αλλ αδυνατον φαναι τον⟩
Σωκρατη συ μ[ε]ν γαρ εμε επηνεσας
ι
δει δε εμε αυ τον επι δεξι επανει

εαν ουν ὑπο σοι κατακλιθη Αγαθῶ
ι ι
1160 ου δηπου εμε παλιν επανεσετα πρῑ
ὑπ εμου μαλ[λ]ον επαινεθηναι⟩
αλλ εασον ω δ[αι]μονιε και μη φθονη 223 A
ι
σης τω μειρα[κ]ιω ὑπ εμου επανεθη
ναι και γαρ πανυ επιθυμω αυτον⟩
1165 εγκωμιασαι ἰου ἰου φαναι τον Αγα⟩
θωνα Αλκιβιαδη ουκ εσθ οπως αν⟩
ε
ενθαδε μειναιμι αλλα παντοσ[[ᾳ]] μαλ
λον μεταναστη[σ]ομαι ἵνα ὑπο Σω
κρατους επαινεθω: ταυτα εκεινα⟩
1170 φαναι τον Αλκιβιαδην τα ειωθοτα
Σωκρατους παροντος των καλων⟩
μεταλα[β]ε[ιν] αδυνατον αλλ[ω] και νῡ
ως ευπορω κ[αι] πιθανον λ[ο]γ[ον η]υρ[εν]
ωστε παρ αυ[τ]ω τουτονι κα[τακε]ισθαι
1175 τον μεν ου[ν] Αγαθωνα ως κᾳτ[α]κει 223 B
[σο]μενον π[αρ]α τω Σωκρατ[ει] ᾳν[ἰ]στα⟩
[σθ]αι εξαιφνης δε κωμαστας ηκειν

Col. xxxi. Plate VI.

παμπολλους επι τας θυρας και επι
τυχοντας αν[[α]]εωγμεναις εξιον⟩
σ
1180 τος τινος εισω αντικρυς πορευεθαι
πᾳ[ρα σ]φας και κατακλεινεσθαι και
θορυβου μεστα παντα ειναι και ου
κετι εν κοσμω ουδενι αναγκαζε
σθαι πειν̣ειν παμπολυν οινον τον
1185 μεν ουν Ερυξιμαχον και τον Φαι⟩
δρον και τους αλλους τινας εφη ο⟩
Αριστοδημος οιχεσθαι απιοντας ε⟩
αυτον δε ὑπνον λαβειν και κατα⟩ 223 C

δαρθειν αν[[ε]] πολ[υ α]τ̣ε̣ [μ]ακρων τω
νυκτων ουσων εξεγρεσθαι δε προς
ημεραν ηδη αλεκτρυ[ο]νων αιδον
των εξεγρομενο[ς] δ[ε] ἴδειν τους⟩
μεν αλλους καθυ[δ]ο̣ντας και οιχο⟩
μενους Αγαθωνα δ̣ε̣ και Σωκρατη
και Αριστοφανη ετι μονους εγρηγο
ρεναι και πινειν εγ μεγαλης φιλα⟩
λης επι δεξια τον ουν Σωκρατη
αυτοις διαλεγεσθαι και τα μεν αλ
λα ο Αριστοδημος ουκ εφη μεμνη 223 D
σθαι των λογων ουτε γαρ εξ αρχης⟩
παραγενεσθαι ὕπονυσταζειν τε
το μεν κεφαλαιον εφη προσαναγ
καζειν τον Σωκρατη ομολογειν
αυτους του αυτου ανδρος ειναι⟩
κωμωδιαν και τραγωδιαν επιστα
σθαι ποιειν και τον τεχνη τραγω⟩
δοποιον οντα κωμωδοποιον ειναι
ταυτα δη αναγκαζομενους αυτ̣οι̣ν̣[ς]
και ου σφοδρα επομενους νυσταζει
και προτερον μεν κατα[[θ]]αρθειν το
Αριστοφαν[[ους]] ηδη δε ημερας γι⟩
γνομενης τον Αγαθωνα τον ουν
Σωκρατη κατακοιμισαντα εκει⟩
νους απιεναι και ωσπερ ειωθει επε
σθαι και ελθοντα εις Λυκιον απο⟩
ν[ι]ψαμενον ωσπερ αλλοτε την⟩
αλλην ημεραν δ[ι]α̣τριβειν και⟩
κ̣[α]ι̣ ουτω διατ[ρ]ε̣ι̣[ψ]αντα εις εσπε
ρ̣αν οικοι α[ναπανεσθ]αι:

Col. xxxii. Plate VI.

1220 Πλατωνος
Συμποσιον:

Unidentified Fragments.

(a)
]δο[
]ω[
]τ̣ο[
. .

(b)
. .
] . ρω̣[
]ν̣γ̣[
. .

(c)
. .
]α̣[
]κ̣ο[
. .

(d)
. .
] . [.]κ̣[
]ικα̣
. .

(e)
. .
]α̣κα[
] . . [
. .

(f)
. .
]πα̣[
.α̣ι̣τ̣[
. .

(g)
. .
] . ν̣α̣[
] . [
. .

(h)
. . .
.ο̣σ̣[[. . [
] . . [
. . .

(i)
]α̣ι̣
]α̣ι
]›
. .

(j)
. . .
]α̣ιον̣[
]σ̣κ[
. . .

(k)
. . .
]δ̣ . [
] . α̣ια̣[
. . .

(l)
. .
]α̣τ̣[
]ο . [
. .

(m)
. .
]ι : κ[
. .

(n)
. .
]ω̣κ[

(o)
. .
]κλ̣[
. .

(p)
. . .
]α̣κ̣ω̣[
. . .

(q)
. .
]ρϵ[
. .

(r)
. .
]ντ[
. .

(s)
. .
]ου[
. .

(t)
. .
]α . [
. .

(u)
. .
]ι̣
]σ
]
] .
. .

48. παρην: l. παρη.

54. ερωτα has been corrected (by the first hand?) from ερωτος.

59. αλλο τι: so BTW, Burn(et); the corrector's reading αλλο τι η is found in Ven. 184, Vind. 21. The letter at the end of the line has been so effectually deleted that its identity is doubtful; the repetition of the article would be a natural blunder.

62. -του was omitted owing to ὁμοιοτέλευτον.

66. The final ς of λεγεις has entirely disappeared, although the surface of the papyrus does not show signs of damage.

69. ω Σωκρατες κινδυνευω: κινδ. ὦ Σώκ. MSS.

71. ειπας: so Vat. 227; εἶπες other MSS.

79. φιλε: φιλούμενε MSS.

84. The original scribe blundered over the name Διοτιμας, writing a ν (or perhaps π) for μ and separating the final ς. W has μαντικῆς for Μαντινικης and similarly μαντική at l. 671.

85. η of ην is altered from ει, i. e. ειναι was first written; the correction may be by the first hand.

88. εποιησατο: εποιησε MSS., which agree with the corrector's της.

89. The addition of the rough breathing on ον is due to the second hand.

90. λογον εκεινη ελεγεν: ἐκ. ἔλ. λόγ. MSS.

92. επ: so Burn. who attributes this reading to W, but wrongly, W having ἀπ' like BT. ἐπ' is found as a correction in the Cod. Coisl. and Paris. 1642.

93. δει δη: so TW; δειλη B.

94. διη[γησ]ω: so MSS.; δὴ ἡγήσω Burn. with Schanz.

96. οποιος: ποιος MSS. The second ε in επειτα was inserted after the ι had been written.

98–9. The word ξενη was originally wrongly divided. The scribe also began to write some other letter in place of the first α of ανακρεινουσα.

99. δε: γαρ MSS. There is an apparently accidental diagonal mark below the line after διηει.

105. εφην λεγεις: λέγεις ἔφην MSS.

107. εφην was originally written for εφη η: the correction is probably by the second hand, which at the same time accented οἰει.

112. το ορθα δοξαζειν: so T, Burn. τὰ ὀρθά W, τὸ ὀρθοδοξάζειν B, &c.

ανευ: καὶ ἄνευ MSS. Schanz omits καί with Stallbaum.

117. τοιουτο: τοιοῦτον MSS.

125. The double dots and paragraphus marking a change of speaker are misplaced; they should have come at the next line.

126. τουτοιν εφη: ἔφη τούτ. MSS.

131. The first ο of ομολογοιτο has been corrected from ω, perhaps by the second hand.

135. The papyrus omits εφην, which the MSS. read before λεγεις.

141. τα καλα: so B; om. τα Burn. with TW, Stobaeus. W inserts ἀγαθοὺς καί after τους.

142–3. The dittography is marked by a line drawn above the superfluous letters. Cf. ll. 195, 333, 695–6, 712, &c.

147. πως αν: so B, Stobaeus; πῶς δ' ἄν TW, Burn.

γε των: so Burn. with TW, Stobaeus; γ' ὧν B.

148. α of αμοιρος seems to have been converted from an ο.

153. εφη: so TW; ἔφην B, Stobaeus, Burn.

156. τε: so BT, Burn.; om. W, Stobaeus.

158. διαπροθμευον: the common Egyptian spelling at this period.

163. ο of ον corrected from ω.

167. τας [τ]ε[λε]τας: so B, Stobaeus; om. τας TW, Burn.

168. [μ]αν[τ]ειαν : so MSS. ; μαγείαν Badham, Burn.

173. l. εγρηγοροσι ; the interchange of λ and ρ is common. The deletion of the superfluous σ was probably by the second hand.

175. Stobaeus omits ων.

176–7. περι χειρουργιας : so Stobaeus ; om. περι BTW, Burn.

τινας : the reading is not certain. α has been corrected (by the second hand?) apparently from ο, and above the spot where β of βανανσους would be is the top of a rounded letter, which is probably β or σ. Perhaps τινος was first written, and the correction of ο obscured the ς which was rewritten above the line ; but the remains suit a β rather better.

βανανσους is a mistake for βανανσος.

178. πολλοι τε : so Stobaeus ; om. τε BTW, Burn.

179. There is a dot between ν and ε, and the two letters are rather farther apart than usual ; but no pause here is possible. Stobaeus omits εστι.

180. και μητρος τινος εστιν : so originally (ἐστί) T ; in BW τίνος ἐστί precedes καὶ μ.

183. ὕστιωντο : so Wbt (εἵστ.) ; ἠστιῶντο Burn. with T, ἠστ. B.

189. εξ[ε]λθων : εἰσελθών MSS.

190. ευδεν : so some MSS. ; ηὗδεν Burn. with BTW.

194. και : so BT, Burn. ; om. W.

195. καλης . . . Πο[ρον came in here from l. 200, the error being caused by the repetition of Αφροδειτης.

202. πενης : so TW ; πενίης B.

203. The second α in απαλος has been corrected from ο.

207. αιει : but αει in ll. 203 and 209.

208. υπαιθριος : so Burn. with BW, Origen ; -οις T.

211. [καλοις] και αγαθοὶς : τοῖς κ. καὶ τοῖς ἀγ. MSS.

213. αμοιβας was apparently originally written, νας having been converted from μοι ; μηχανάς MSS.

215. πορίμος is a correction from φρονίμος, perhaps due to the original hand. πορισμός (B) and φορτισμός are also found.

216. φαρμακευς : l. καὶ φ. with MSS.

218–9. της ημερας : τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμ. MSS. ; the omission is to be accounted for by the ὁμοιοτέλευτον.

219. και : so B ; τε καί TW, Origen, Burn.

220. The corrector took the first παλιν with αποθνησκει, but there is little to be said for his reading, which has no other support.

αναβιοσκεται : l. αναβιωσκ. The deletion of ι is probably due to the corrector. There is a small dot between αι and δ, but it may well be accidental.

224. αυ και : τε αὖ καί T, Burn., δ' αὖ καί Origen, τε καί B.

229. σοφοις : l. σοφοι. ε was apparently written originally in place of the first σ.

230. χαλεπη : χαλεπόν MSS.

232. αυτω : so T (αὐτ.), Wb (αὐτ.) ; αὐτό B.

237. δη : so TW, Burn. ; ὅτι B.

239. αν ειη : ἄν BTW, omitting εἴη. αὖ Burn., who wrongly attributes this reading to W ; it is found in Ven. 184, Vind. 21. The papyrus is probably right.

243. μετοξυ is a common spelling.

248. ωθης : l. ωηθης.

251. ελεγες : λέγεις MSS.

ειναι ερωτα : ἔρωτα εἶναι MSS.

252. οιομαι : so some late MSS. ; οἶμαι Burn. The ο of το is corrected from ω.

254. αβρον is a correction by the second hand from αγαθον.

255. τελειον : τέλεον MSS.

262. The addition of και ουτω brings the papyrus into accord with the MSS.

265. τε : so B, Burn. ; om. TW. The letters -ς ω Σω are corrected.

266. ερα : so BTW and other MSS. (ἐρᾷ), ἐρῷ b ; ἐρῶ is necessary. Cf. l. 276.

267. The accent on τι is dubious. There are two short dashes visible above the line, meeting like a v.

268. The termination of αυτω and ιλ in αλλ have been altered, but it is doubtful what was first written. Perhaps αυτωι αλλ should be read.

ετι ποθει : so TW, Burn. ; ἐπιποθεῖ B.

269. τοιανδει seems to be for τοιανδί, though this form is not Platonic. τοιάνδε MSS. The τ has been corrected from a δ. It is unlikely that οιαν δει was intended.

270. λ of καλα corrected from κ.

272. χ of προχειρως corr.

273. θ of αποκρεινασθαι seems to have been altered, and the final ι was perhaps not originally written.

276. ερᾶι : so BTW as in l. 266 ; om. Ven. 184 and Schanz ; ἐρῶ Burn. with the Aldine edition.

281–2. The second hand has made good the omission of the repeated ευδαιμονες. δ in l. 281 is over >.

282. ει ερ blotted.

286. δ̓ε : so B ; δή TW, Burn.

297. αρα : so T, Burn. ; om. BW. The supposed base of an ε above ιδος may be the left-hand dot of a diaeresis on ι.

302. τῶ : τι BTW, τοι Vind. 21, Burn. τω may be right, but the marginal ὦ is unintelligible.

308. ου is mistakenly omitted by W.

309. εχουσιν : so TW ; ἔξουσιν B, Burn.

311. μοριο῾ν : so BT, Burn. ; μόνον W with μόριον as a variant.

314. ταυτα : l. τουτο with MSS.

316. εφη῾ν᾽ λεγεις : λέγεις ἔφην MSS.

323. χρηματισμω was first written : the correction is likely to be by the second hand.

327. εσχον : ἴσχουσιν (BTW) or ἔχουσιν MSS.

328. ε in the termination of κινδυνευεις has no doubt been converted from a σ, κινδυνευουσι having been originally written.

333. ειναι, which was repeated by mistake, is cancelled by the line drawn over it ; cf. l. 142, note.

341. ανθρ῾ωπ᾽οι : so BT ; οἱ ἄν(θρωπ)οι W ; ἄνθρωποι Bekker, Burn.

342. The recurrence of του αγαθου led to the omission of η σοι δοκουσι . . . αγαθου, which has been supplied by the second hand in the upper margin. του αγαθου there is in agreement with BW ; τἀγαθοῦ T.

344. προσθεταιον was written originally both here and in l. 346.

345. ουν : so BT, Burn. ; om. W.

348. αυτω : so TW ; αὐτό B.

349. δε : so Paris. 1642 ; δή BTW, Burn.

τουτο : so MSS. ; τούτου Bast, Burn.

350. των : so Tb, Burn. ; τόν B, τόν with *v.l.* τῶν W.

351. ο of αυτο has been corrected from ω. αὐτόν T.

352. συντασις : so B, Burn. ; σύστασις TW.

357. The two dots marking the end of the speech are misplaced as at l. 125. The α of μαθησομενος has been corrected.

361. *δη*: *ἤδη* MSS., as regularly; *ἦ δ' ἥ* Bekker, Burn.

363. *και*: so TW, Burn.; om. B.

364. *την*: so BW, Burn.; om. T.

368. *καλω*: so Badham; *τῷ καλῷ* MSS. Burn. brackets *η γαρ . . . τοκος εστιν* with Ast.

370. *τουτο* is crossed through, probably by the corrector.

372. *ενεστιν*: so B, Burn.; *ἐστιν* TW. *θ* in *αθανατον* is corrected from *ν*.

373. *τα*: so B, Burn.; *ταῦτα* TW. The second *ν* of *γεννησις* is blotted.

376. *θεω*: so B; *θείῳ* T (*v.l. θεῷ*) W.

382. *ξι[ν σπειραται*: *συσπειρᾶται* T and (with *v.l.* *-εται*) W, Burn.; *συνσπείρεται* B.

383. *αν[ιλ]λεται*: there is not room for *αν[ειλ]λεται* (BW, Burn.); *ἀνείλλειται* T.

386. *πτοιησις*: so TW, Burn.; *ποίησις* B.

388. *απολυ[ει]ν*: so TW, Burn.; *ἀπολαύειν* B.

391. The marginal note is obscure. It seems to begin *ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) οὕ(τως) ἔχ[ει* and possibly refers to *ειεν*, though that word hardly required explanation.. The letter after *ρω* may be *γ* and the following doubtful *ς* may be *ε* or perhaps *ο*. For *ἀν(τὶ τοῦ)* cf. e.g. 841. II. 79.

393. *γενεσεως*: *γεννήσεως* MSS. *αει γενεσις*: l. *αειγενες* with MSS.

402. *τ* of *τι* corr.

404. *αισθανει*: *αἰσθάνῃ* Burn.; cf. l. 422 *διανοει*, l. 692 *ενθυ]μει*.

406. *επιθυμηση* has been corrected from *-μωσι*, probably by the second hand.

412. *τουτων και*: so BT, Burn.; om. *και* W.

415. *αυτω*: *αὐτά* MSS. The final *α* of *παρατεινομενα* has been corrected from *ω*.

421. *ελεγον*: *αὖ ἔλεγον* b, Burn.; *ἀνελεγον* B, *ἂν ἔλεγον* TW.

425. *Διοτιμα* is perhaps intended, but *Διατ.* was first written.

431. *α* of *ωμολογησομεν* is corrected from *ο*.

432. There is a high dot between *θ* and *α* of *θαυμαζε*, but it is presumably accidental.

435. *τε*: the papyrus is rubbed, but the vestiges suggest *τε* (so T, Burn.) rather than *το* (W). B has *τὸ εἶναι ἀθάνατος*, omitting *καί*.

436. *τη γενεσει* is bracketed by Burn., following Vermehren. *α* of *αει* corr.

438. The letters *εν* after *και* have dots over them, which may mean that *εν* was to be cancelled; but *εν* cannot be spared, and they are possibly unintentional.

443. *ταυτα* = *ταὐτά*; *τὰ αὐτά* MSS., Burn.; similarly in l. 451.

449. *τροποι*: *τόποι* B.

452. The second *γ* of *γιγνεται* seems to have been altered from *ν*, and *λυ* in *απολλυται* also shows signs of correction.

453. *ετι*: so B, Burn.; *ἐστιν* TW.

462. *μνημη*: so Paris. 1462, Vat. 229, Sauppe; *μνήμιην* BTW, &c., bracketed by Burn. with Baiter. Either *μελέτη . . . μνήμη* or *μελέτη . . . μνήμῃ* would give a sense.

465. The lectional marks added to *ου τω* warn the reader against the reading *οὕτω* which is actually found in B.

466. *αυτον*: so B (Bekker) and some other MSS.; l. *αιτο*.

469. *ενκαταλιπειν*, the reading of the first hand, occurs in some inferior MSS.; *ἐγκαταλείπειν* BTW, Burn.

471. *μετεχει*: the papyrus is the only authority for this reading, which was restored by Stephanus; *μετέχειν* MSS.

472. *αθανατον*: so MSS.; *ἀδύνατον* Burn. with Creuzer.

481. *[εφ]η*: so BT, Burn.; om. W. The size of the lacuna indicates that the papyrus read *επει* simply (B), not *επει γε* (TW, Burn.).

487. *εις*: so TW; *ες* B, Burn.

490. παντας: so BT, Burn.; πάντες W. T. omits μαλλον.

495–6. W omits αν . . . προαποθυνειν owing to the ὁμοιοτελευτον.

498. l. βασιλειας.

507. κατα τα: so Paris. 1812, &c.; om. τα BTW, Burn.

517. κυησεται was first written, αι and ε interchanging as commonly. Cf. l. 747, &c. om. τε MSS.

τεκειν confirms a conjecture of Hug (τίκτειν Jahn); κυεῖν MSS., Burn.

523. τας: so MSS.; τά Burn. following Sommer.

526. αυ: so B; δ' αὖ TW, Burn.

527. εκκυμων: l. εγκυμων.

θειος: so MSS. ἦθεος Burn. with Parmentier.

529. επιθυμη agrees with a conjecture of Stephanus, punctuating after ων. ἐπιθυμεῖ MSS.

530. δη: so BT, Burn.; δέ W. B has περὶ ὧν for περιών.

539. περι: so MSS. Burn. brackets with Stephanus.

544. παρων και απων is the order of BW, Burn. ἀπ. καὶ π. T. The deletion of ουτ is probably by the second hand.

551. The accent distinguishes πᾶς ἄν from πᾶσαν, and the mark of short quantity shows that ἄν is not equivalent to ἐάν. ε in the termination of κεκοινωνηκοτες is a correction

554. εις Ησιοδον: om. εις MSS.

560. κατελιπετο: so b, Burn.; κατέλιπεν . . . τό B, κατελείπετο TW.

563. The papyrus probably had ημιν, as B; ὑμῖν TW, Burn.

564. ο Σολων: om. ο MSS.

566. Ελλησι: ἐν Ἕλλ. MSS.

567. αλλα: l. καλα with MSS.

568. και: om. MSS.

571. The ν of ανθρωπινους has been corrected from some other letter, perhaps ε.

576. εφην: l. εφη.

577. και συ: om. MSS.; the addition adds emphasis and may be right.

578. εαν: ἄν MSS., Burn. The double dots after ης follow from the mistaken reading εφην in l. 576.

582. αυτον: so TW; αὐτῶν B, Burn.

584. κα in καλους is corrected, perhaps from πολ.

585. το επι: so rightly BT; τῷ ἐπί W.

586. τω: so TW rightly; τό B. T omits επι.

590. τουτο: so BW, Burn.; τούτῳ T.

592. There are small oblique dashes, which are presumably accidental, over the σ of χαλασαι and after εαν in l. 597.

597–8. και εαν: so BT, καὶ ἄν W; κἄν Hermann, Burn.

600. και: so MSS.; Burn. brackets with Badham.

601. W. has εἴ τινες.

609. ειδη is probably meant for ἴδῃ (TW; ἴν' ἀιδῃι B).

611. το παρ: so MSS.; τῷ παρ' Burn. with Schleiermacher.

614. ενος is a correction from τινος, perhaps by the first hand.

618. τικτει is the reading of the great majority of the MSS., but the papyrus may of course have had the right reading τικτη.

619. ρωσθεις: ρωθεις W.

631. The final ν of γιγνομενον is corrected from σ, and the same alteration was perhaps made in the case of αυξανομενον in the line below.

635. τοδε: l. τοτε. The omission of ουδε was probably caused by the preceding ου.

637–8. *ως . . . αισχρον* is bracketed by Burn. with Voegelin.

639. *αυτω* : so BT, Burn. ; *αὐτό* W.

640–1. *ουδε εν* : l. *ουδεν ων* with MSS. or *ουδε εν ων*.

645. *μετ* : so apparently the papyrus ; l. *μεθ*.

647. *τροπον τινα* : so B, Burn. ; *τινα τρ*. TW.

649. *εκεινο* : so B, Burn. ; *ἐκείνῳ* TW.

μητε : so Vind. 31, Paris. 1642, and others ; *μήτε τι* BTW, Burn.

651. It is most unlikely, on account of the space, that the papyrus had *δε δη* as TW ; *δή* simply B, Burn.

652. There is an oblique mark like an accent above the *ο* of *απο*, but it may be unintentional ; cf. note on l. 592.

660. *επαναβασμοις* : so T and other MSS. *ἐπαναβαθμοῖς* W, Burn., *ἐπ' ἀναβαθμοῖς* B.

665. *και* : so MSS. ; *ὡς* Burn. with Schanz.

669. *αυτω* : the *ω* is almost certain ; l. *αυτο*.

670. There is a dot above the *ν* of *εστιν*, which may mean that the letter was to be cancelled ; but the practice of the writer as to the use of *ν εφελκυστικον* is quite inconsistent.

674. *ιδης* : so W, Burn. ; *εἰδῇς* BT.

χρυσον : *χρυσίον* MSS.

675. There is an (apparently accidental) curved mark above the *π* of *παιδα⌈ς*.

679. *ι* of *αυτοις* added later.

681. *μονον θεασασθαι* : *θ. μόνον* B ; *θεᾶσθαι μόνον* TW, Burn.

684. *θ* of *καθαρον* has been altered from a *τ*. l. *αναπλεων*.

689. *εφη* : so BW, Burn. ; om. T. The *λ* of *φαυλον* is rewritten ; a high dot before the *φ* is probably meaningless.

695–6. The dittography was caused by the recurrence of *εφαπτομενω*.

699. *θεοφιλει* : so t, Burn. ; *θεοφιλῆ* BTW.

701. *Φαι⌈δρε* : *ὦ Φαῖδρε* MSS.

708. The final *α* of *ανδρα* is corrected from *ι*.

712. *τον ερωτα* was written in careless anticipation of the sense.

718. The coronis, which is similar to those in the Pindar papyrus (**841**), marks the close of the section. Others occur at l. 1122 and at the end of the dialogue.

721. *επιχειρ⌈ε⌉ιν λεγειν τι* : *λέγ. τι ἐπ*. MSS.

724. *αυλειον* : so t, Burn. ; *αὔλιον* BT (? W). The testimony of the papyrus on such a point is, however, of little value.

κρυουμενην : so BW, Burn. ; *κροτουμένην* T.

728. l. *σκεψεσθε*. The scribe perhaps took the words for *οὐκ* (*οὐχ*) *ἔψεσθε*.

αν : *ἐάν* MSS.

730. *πανομεθα* : *ἀναπανόμεθα* MSS.

741–3. The scribe blundered badly here. The fact that he wrote *νι* (the termination of *τινι*) *στεφανωμενον* in l. 741 is an indication that he also wrote *στεφανωμενον* in ll. 742–3, though the corrector may have deleted the superfluous *μενον*. The line drawn above the letters should have extended to *τε* either in l. 741 or 742.

747. ⌈*δε⌉ξεσθε* (B, Burn.) is corrected from ⌈*δε⌉ξεσθαι*. *δέξασθε* TW.

748. *οπ⌈ε⌉ρ* : so TW ; *ὥπερ* B, Burn.

749. *ηλθομεν* : so TW, Burn. ; *ἤχθομεν* B.

εχθες : *χθές* MSS.

754–5. *εαν ειπω ουτωσι* : so BT ; W adds *κεφαλήν*. The words are bracketed by Burn. with F. A. Wolf.

755. W has *καταγελάσασθαι*.

763. A low dot between *-νον* and *ιπο* is probably meaningless.

770. ὡς ἐκεῖνον καθίζειν BTW, &c., which is unsatisfactory, and is bracketed by Burn. with Badham. The papyrus has quite clearly κατιδε⌈, which may be a mistake for καθιζειν, caused by κατιδειν in l. 766. But it may also be interpreted as κατ(ε)ΐδε⌈ν, which would give a good sense: Socrates made room as soon as he saw Alcibiades.

776. οδε τρί⌈τος: so W, Burn.; ᾧδε τρ. B, τρ. ὅδε T.

778. οραν: B has ὁρᾷ.

779–80. τουτι τι ην: so TW, Burn.; τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν B and as a variant W.

783. ο of κατεκεισο is corrected from τ. The dittography has been eliminated in the usual way.

786. ως: we print the reading of the MSS.; καί Hermann, πῶς Hug.

789. The first letter of the line was almost certainly τ, i. e. the papyrus had τι εμηχανησω: διεμηχανήσω MSS. There is an oblique stroke, no doubt accidental, immediately below the μ.

797. It is unlikely that anything stood in the papyrus after ουτοσι. ὁὐτοσὶ . . . T, οὑτοσί πως Coisl.

798. θαυ⌋μαστ⌈α: so B, Burn.; θαυμάσια TW. The τ though rubbed is practically certain.

810. [αναδησω] και: so TW, Burn.; ἀναδησώμεθα B.

815. δι]αλεξεσθαι: διαλεξαι was first written.

817. δη: δ' οὐ MSS. (οὖν Angel. C. 1. 9).

820. l. συνγυμναζεσθαι; the θ does not seem to have been added above the line, but the papyrus is rubbed.

828. ανεταιον was originally written; the alteration may be by the first hand.

829. The reading of the first hand, whatever it was, does not appear to have made sense. There was probably some alteration also at the beginning of l. 830. The accent on ε was added by the corrector.

839. εδεδει]πν⌈η]κει: so MSS.; ἐδεδειπνήκεμεν Burn., δεδειπνήκαμεν Bekk., *Anecd.* i. 346. 23.

διελεγομην: so MSS.; διελ. ἀεί Burn. with Bekker, *Anecd. l. c.*

840. επειδη γε: om. γε MSS.

841. οψαι is for οψε; cf. l. 828, note, &c.

842. μενειν: μονον was originally written.

846. The papyrus probably agreed with B and T marg. in reading δη, the omission of which would make the line unnaturally short; om. TW.

847. The supplement in the middle of the line is somewhat long, but not impossible. εχ⌋οι cannot be read; perhaps αν was omitted.

852. l. αφανισαι: there is no trace of the final ι.

859. γνωσομενοις: γν. τε MSS., but the supplement is already somewhat long.

862. τε: so BT, Burn.; τε καί W.

863. ων is a correction from ως. B has δειχθῇ for δηχθειη.

864. γαρ η ψυχην: so TW; ἡ ψυχὴν γάρ B. Burn., following Usener, brackets ἡ ψυχήν as not read by Schol. B.

867. μ⌋η: so BW; καὶ μή T, Burn. ν of νεου seems to have been corrected from μ.

876. τ€ τοτε: so TW, Burn.; but τ⌈οτε (B) is just as likely to have been written. (According to Schanz, B has τε and T omits it.)

877. The letters νυν λ are converted from συλγ.

878. τις: τι B.

880. The termination of ⌈επιθ εσθε is corrected from θαι.

885. και is superfluous: om. MSS.

891. ⌈εχ⌋ω: so B, Burn.; ἔχων TW.

893. χα⌈ρ⌋ισασθαι: χαρίζεσθαι MSS.

ει τι: so B, Burn.; *ἔτι* TW.

896. *ως οτι*: so TW, Burn.; *ὅσῳ τι* B.

898. *μο]ι*: the vestige of the letter before *σ* is too small for certainty, but suits *ι* considerably better than *υ*. *μοι* Vind. 21, Burn.; *μου* BTW.

905. *ω φιλε* Αλκ. is the ordinary reading.

910. *[τ]οι*: so BTW, Burn.; *τι* other MSS., Bekker.

913. *τε*: so BT, Burn.; om. W.

924. There may have been two dots after *φ*, the lower one of which is effaced.

925. *εμου*: so TW, Burn.; *ἐμοί* B.

928. *σοι τε] οτι*: *ὅτι σοί τε* MSS. The *ο* is quite doubtful, but the letter after *τ* is plainly *ι*, not *ε*.

935. *βελει*: so TW; *βέλῃ* B, Burn.

940. The size of the lacuna suits *τουτουι* (TW, Burn.) better than *τουτου* (B).

944. B has *αυ*, but *ταυτα* without *αυ* (TW) is equally possible here.

948–9. *[και] περι εκειυο*: *καίπερ ἐκεῖνο* TW, *καίπερ κεῖνο* B, *καίτοι 'κεῖνο* Burn. *περι*, which gives no sense, is doubtless a slip for *-περ*.

954. *η ει*: so B, Burn.; om. *ει* TW.

955. *ε* of *με* is converted from *η*; to which hand the correction is due is doubtful.

960. The Attic form *ωμην* (so MSS.) required no alteration.

961. *εγ]κρατειαν*: *καρτερίαν* MSS.

962. *ουθ'*, which was first written, is the reading of BTW; *οὐδ'* Paris. 1810, 1642, Vat. 229. *οργιζοιμην* has been altered from *οριζοιμην*.

963. *ει κ[αι*: om. *ει* MSS. rightly.

964. *[συ]νουσιας*: *συνηθειας* was originally written.

966. *ηδειν*: so W; *ᾔδη* B, Burn.

γε: so TW; *τε* B, Burn.

969. The scribe first wrote *αλωσεται*.

970. *δη*: so BT, Burn.; *τε* W.

979. *[οπο]ταν*: so BT; *ὁπότ'* W, Burn.

ἀπολειφθέντες is the reading of the MSS.; *ἀπολῃφθ'*. Cornarius, Burn.

983. The erroneous λ has not been struck out.

986. *[ο] π[αν]των*: so TW rightly; *ὁπόταν* B.

θαυμασιωτατον: so Vind. 21; *θαυμαστότατον* BTW, Burn.

987. The slight vestiges suit *εωρ[α]κεν* (TW, Burn.) not *εωρ[α]κει* (B).

992. *ε* in the termination of *[χειμων]ες* is a correction from *ο*.

993. *παγου*: so B, Burn.; *τοῦ π.* TW.

995. *η ουκ*: so B, Burn.; om. *η* TW.

996. *δη*: so TW, Burn.; *η* B. The *η* of *ημφιεσμενων* was corrected from *ε*, and *τεθ* from *ηο*, i. e. the scribe at first omitted *τε θαυμαστα*.

999. *ουτος*: so Vind. 21; *οὗτος δ'* BTW, Burn.

1000. *[οιο]νπερ*: so B, Burn.; *οἷον* TW.

1003. *ι* of *αλλοι* is corrected from *υ*.

1005. The scribe misunderstood *οφων*, connecting the *σ* with *καταφρονουντα*; cf. l. 1015, note.

1007. *[αυ] τοδ*: so W, Burn.; *αὐτό* BT, B having also *ἔρρεξε*.

1008. Probably no significance is to be attached to the fact that whereas in l. 974 an *ε* has been added above the *ι* of *στρατια*, here there is no such insertion. Burn. reads *στρατιᾶς* with Cobet; *στρατείας* MSS.

1011. *ανειη*: l. *ανιει*. B has *προχώρει* for *προυχ*.

1014. *ε* of *θαυμ[α]ζοντες* is corrected from *ο*.

1015. ως: om. MSS. The first scribe unintelligently divided the word εωθιν[ο]υ as εωθειν | ου.

1016. W adds και before τελευτ[ω]ντες.

1017. Ιωνων is the traditional reading, in place of which various conjectures have been proposed.

1025. και: om. MSS.

1030–1. τετρωμενων [ουκ εθ]ελων: so BW, Burn.; οὐκ ἐθ. τετρ. T. The second λ of αλλα is corrected, apparently from σ.

1042. Σωκρατην: cf. l. 1068, though [Σ]ωκρατη is rightly written in l. 1051.

1048. ο of παρακελευομαι is altered from ω and α of θαρρειν from ε.

1058. φιλους: so some MSS., Stephanus; φιλίους BTW, Burn.

1061. αψαιτο: ἅψεται MSS.

1062. B has ἀμύνηται.

1063. αυτος: οὗτος MSS.

ετερος: so MSS.; ἑταῖρος Aristides, Burn.

1069. There is not room in the lacuna for μεν (so MSS.) after των.

1071. δη: om. MSS. ανθρων is a slip for ἀνθρωπων.

1072. [ειν]αι μητε: so TW, Burn.; εἶναί με B.

1077–8. The transposition of και . . . αλλους and κατα . . . τις was necessary. W has τοῦτ' for ταυτα (ταῦτ').

1080. το of ατοπιαν is converted from a ν, and the first upright of π was originally curved, i. e. the scribe began to write ανθρωπος.

1083. οις: so TW; εἰ οἷς B, Burn. B has λέγων for [λεγ]ω (TW, Burn.).

1089–90. των . . . λογων: so TW, Burn.; τὸν . . . λόγον B.

1091. π[αν]υ: so TW, Burn.; om. B.

1093. τινα: so B; ἄν τινα TW, δή τινα Burn. with Baiter.

1094. κανθηλινους: κανθηλίους MSS.

1099. B has διωιγουμένους.

1100. αν: so MSS.; αὖ Bekker, Burn.

1102. των λογων: so TW, Burn.; τὸν λόγον B.

1105. τινοντας . . . επι: so TW (τειν.) Burn.; τείνανταs . . . ἔτι B.

1106. A high point after οσον is apparently meaningless; there is another between θ and α of εσεσθαι in the line below.

1108. The scribe began to write α instead of ρ after σωκ.

1110. η of ημει[ν] has not been crossed out: cf. l. 983.

1114. πολλους: πάνυ πολλούς MSS.

1117. εξαπατασθαι: so TW, Burn.; -θε B.

1124. εδοκε τι ε or τε seems to have been first written; it is uncertain to which hand the correction is due. l. παρρησια.

1127. φαναι is a correction from εφη.

1130. ουνεκα: l. ου ενεκα (TW, Burn.). The ν is corrected from a δ, and it is curious that B has οὐδ' instead of οὗ.

1142. διαβαλει: so Burn. following Hirschig. διαβάλῃ BTW.

1148. The first ι of κατακλινησομαι is corrected from η.

1153. l. περιειναι.

1157. εμε: so B, Burn.; με TW.

1159. κατακλιθη: κατακλίνῃ MSS.

1160. π of δηπου is corrected from μ, and ε was twice written for αι in επαινεσεται.

1167. παντοσε: MSS. παντός, which is unexceptionable, though παντοσε would also give a good sense. The δ of ενθαδε was converted from σ.

1173. *ευπορω* : l. *ευπορως*.
1179. *αναιωγμεναις* was first written.
1180. *εισω* : *εἰς τό* MSS.
1186. *τους* : om. MSS. rightly.
1187. *εαυτον δε* : *ἑ δέ* BW, *ἕαδε* T.
1189. The first scribe wrote *ατε πολυ*.
1191. Below the *ο* of *αιδοντων* are some accidental marks.
1194–5. *Σωκρατη και Αριστοφανη* : this is also the order in Ven. 184 and Vind. 21. *Ἀρ. καὶ Σωκ.* BTW, Burn.
1196. *μεγαλης φι{λ}αλης* : so Paris. 1642, Vat. 229 ; *φ. μεγ.* BTW, Burn.
1207. *κωμωδοποιον* : so BTW ; *καὶ κωμ.* Vind. 21, Burn.
1210. *προτερον* : so TW ; *πρῶτον* B, Burn.
1211. l. *Αριστοφανη*.
1213. *κατακοιμισαντα* : so BW, Burn. ; *κατακοιμήσαντα* T.
1214. *και ωσπερ* : so MSS. ; Burn. inserts ⟨*ἑ*⟩ before *ωσπερ* with Hermann.
1218. *και* was apparently repeated by mistake, and overlooked by the corrector.
1220–1. The title is placed opposite the middle of the preceding column.

Fr. (*h*). The letters after *ος* have been altered or deleted. But it is possible that the fragment should be turned the other way up, when the reading would be]⟦ω⟧ι[.

Fr. (*i*). This small fragment from the top of a column clearly comes from this papyrus, but cannot be certainly placed in any of the columns remaining. It might belong to Col. i, where *δοκεῖ* probably stood in the first line, but there would be no *ω* underneath the *δ* unless there was a variation as to the position in the sentence of *βούλοιτ' ἄν*.

Fr. (*n*) is from the bottom of a column.

844. ISOCRATES, *Panegyricus*.

Height 31·1 cm. Plate VII (Cols. ix–x).

These considerable remains of a roll containing the *Panegyricus* of Isocrates extend from § 19 to § 116, though with some serious lacunae. Forty-seven columns were occupied by the ninety-six sections, and the total number would have been about eighty-six, for which it may be estimated that some 24 feet of papyrus would have been required. The manuscript was a handsome one written in a rather large calligraphic uncial hand very similar to that of the Rossal Demosthenes, of which a facsimile is given in Kenyon's *Palaeography*, Pl. 16 ; cf. also the Hawara Homer (*ibid.*, Pl. 20) and **20**. Kenyon attributes the Demosthenes to the end of the first century, but it is perhaps more likely to belong to the earlier decades of the second, to which we should assign this Isocrates papyrus. There is often a marked decrease in the size of the letters at the ends of lines, and in order to save space T is lengthened so that the crossbar

comes above the tops of the letters adjoining. Short lines are filled up by the usual angular sign. A paragraphus is used to mark a pause, and is sometimes accompanied by a short blank space at the end of the sentence; the three varieties of stop, high, middle, and low, are also freely added, though in a good many cases probably by the second hand, to which a number of corrections and alterations are due. No other lectional marks occur beyond a rare sign of elision or breathing inserted by the corrector. Iota adscript was originally not usually written, but has mostly been supplied later.

Like the British Museum papyrus of the *De Pace*, the present text of the *Panegyricus* is unfortunately of a distinctly poor quality, and does little beyond establishing still more clearly the superiority of the codex Urbinas (Γ). It is characterized by a number of additions, some of which are evident interpolations and none is convincing; the most flagrant example is at ll. 344–50, where a sentence founded on a subsequent passage is inserted without apparent reason; cf. ll. 17, 42, 77, 164–5, 258, 302, 355, 356, 421, 558, 561. On the other hand the papyrus occasionally exhibits a shorter text, either on its own authority (ll. 449, 562) or in agreement with Γ against the vulgate (ll. 202, 264, 395, 480, 497, 608, 609, 669). Though on the whole the coincidences with Γ predominate, agreements with MSS. representing an inferior tradition are frequent. Sometimes the corrector has changed a reading of Γ into that of the vulgate or vice versa. Certain variants also appear which are otherwise only found in MSS. of the Περὶ Ἀντιδόσεως, where a large section of the *Panegyricus* is repeated; cf. notes on ll. 230–1, 400, 449, 558, 613–5. In view of the general character of the papyrus its variations in the order of words carry little weight; and it may be doubted whether there are more than a couple of readings for which an independent value can be claimed, l. 290 ελαττω γε as conjectured by Cobet, and l. 659 συμπενθησοντας, a variant recorded by Victorius but actually found in no MS. The archetype from which this text was derived appears to have been defective in places; cf. ll. 33–5, 291, and 605.

In the collation given below we have made use of the Teubner edition of Blass, the apparatus of which is unfortunately very limited. Proofs of the text of the papyrus were sent to Prof. E. Drerup in order to be utilized for his forthcoming critical edition of Isocrates, and to him we owe some references to individual MSS. of the vulgate. Differences with regard to elision, insertion or absence of ν ἐφελκυστικόν, interchange of ει and ι, &c., are not separately noticed.

Col. i.

νων ημας εδιδαξαν· ε .ημας δι δαξαι § 19
μοι δ ουν αμφοτερων
ενεκα προσηκει περι
ταυτα ποιησασθαι την
πλειστην δ[ι]ατριβην·
μαλιστα μεν ινα προυρ
γου τι γενηται· και παυ
σαμενοι της προς η
μας αυτους φιλονικι
ας κοινη τοις βαρβα >
ροις πολεμησωμεν·
ει δε τουτ εστ[[αι]] αδυνα § 20
τον. ινα δηλωσω τους
εμποδων οντας τη[ι]
[τ]ων Ελληνων ευδαι
μονια[ι]· και πασι γενηται
[φ]ανερον· οτι και το προ
[τ]ερον ημων η [πο]λις
[δι]καιως της θα[λατ]της
[η]ρξεν· και νυν ο[υκ] αδι
[κ]ως αμφισβητ[ει π]ερὶ
[τ]ης ηγεμονιας [το]υ § 21
[το με]ν [γ]α̣ρ ει δε[ι] >
. . . . .

Col. ii.

. . . . § 22
α[υτοις παραμενειν α
ξ[ιουσι δε την ηγεμονι
α[ν εχειν ωσπερ αλλο τι
γε[ρας η τους πρωτους τυ
χο̣ν[τας
. . . . .

Col. v.

. . . . . § 29
τ]α̣ς τ[ε
[ευεργεσιας και τ]ας χρει
[ας και τας ωφελε]ιας τας
[απ αυτων γιγνομ]ενας
. . . . .

Col. vii.

γουμενους και π[ρω]τους τε [γε]γεσθαι και προς τας [[γενομενας]] τεχνας ευ φυεστ[ατ]ους οντας και [προ]ς [τα τ]ων θεων ευ σ[εβεσ]τατα διακειμε ν[ους] και μην οσης [προ]σηκει τιμης [τυγ]χα [νει]ν τους τηλικο[υτ]ων [αγα]θων αιτιους γ[ε]γε > [νη]μενους περιεργον [δι]δ[ασ]κε[ι]ν ουδε[ι]ς γαρ [α]ν δυναι[το δωρ]εαν το [σα]υτην τ[ο μ]εγεθος ευ [ρει]ν ητι[ς] ιση τοις πε [πρα]γμενο[ι]ς εστιν· πε [ρι] μ[ε]ν ουν του μεγι > [στ]ου των ευεργετημα [τω]ν και πρωτου γενομε [νου και πα]σι κοινοτα [του ταυτ ε]χομεν ειπειν· [περι δε τους] αυτο[υ]ς χρο [νους ορωσα] τ̣ο̣ὺ̣ς μ̣ε̣ὶ̣ν [βαρβαρους] την π[λει [στην της χ]ωρα[ς κατε [χοντας τ]ους δ [Ε]λλη [νας εις μ]ικρον τοπον [κατακεκ]λιμενο[υ]ς· [και δια σ]πανιοτητα [της γης ε]πιβουλευον [τας τε σφι]σιν αυτοις· [και στρατ]ιας επαλλη

§ 33

§ 34

Col. viii.

[βοντες] τους μαλ[ι]στα [βιου δεο]μενους· και > [στρατη]γοι καταστα̣ντες [αυτων]· και πολεμω̣ι̣ κρα [τησαν]τες τους βαρβα [ρους] πολλας μεν εφ ε κ[ατε]ρα̣ς της ηπειρο[υ] πο λε[ις] εκτισαν· απασας δε τας νησους κατω̣ι̣κι σαν· αμφοτερους δε > και τους [ακο]λουθησαν [τας και τους υ]π[ο]μει [ναντας εσωσ]αν· τοις [μεν γαρ ι]κα̣[ν]ην την [οικοι χωρ]αν κατελιπον· [τοις δε πλει]ω της υπαρ χ[ουσης επορι]σαν α̣ πα[ντα γαρ περι]ελαβον το τ[ον τοπον ον ν]υν τυγ χαν[ομεν κατεχον]τες. ωσ [τε και τοις υστε]ρον βου [ληθεισιν αποι]κισαι τι [ν]ας και μ[ιμ]ησασθαι [τ]ην πολιν την ημετε ραν. πολλην [ραι]στωι νην εποιησαν· ου γαρ [αυτου]ς δει κ[τ]ωμενους [χωρα]ν διακινδυνευ [ειν α]λλ εις τη[ν] υφ η > [μων] αφορισ[θ]εισαν. > [εις τα]υτην ο[ι]κειν ιον τα[ς κα]ιτοι τ[ι]ς αν ταν της ηγε[μον]ικωτ[ερ]α[ν

§ 36

§ 37

[λους ποιου]μενους· >
[και τους μ]εν δι ενδει
[αν των κα]θ ημεραν >
[τους δε δια] τον πολεμον
[απολλυμ]ενους ουδε § 35
[ταυθ ουτ]ως εχοντα
[περιειδεν]· αλλ ηγεμο
[νας εις τας] πολεις ε >
[ξεπεμψεν] οι παραλα >

Col. ix. Plate VII.

[β]αρους αναστατους ποι
ησασης τους δ Ελληνας
[ει]ς τοσαυτην ευπορι
[αν] προαγ[αγο]υσης· ου τοι § 38
[νυν] επειδη τα μεγι[σ]τα
[συν]διεπ[ρ]αξεν. των αλ
λ[ων] ωλ[ι]γωρησεν· αλ
λ' αρ[χη]ν μ[ε]ν εποιησατο
τα[υ]την των ευεργεσι
ων [τροφ]ην τοις δεομε
νοι[ς ευρ]ε[ι]ν ηνπερ χρη
του[ς με]λλοντας και πε
ρι τ[ων αλ]λων καλως
διο[ικ]ησειν· ηγουμε
νη [δε] τον βιον τον επι
του[τ]οις μονον ουπω
του [ζ]ην επιθυμειν αξ[ι
ως ε[χειν] ουτως επ[ε] >
με[ληθη] και των λο[ι] >
πων· ω[σ]τε των πα[ρο]ν
των [τοι]ς ανθρωποις
αγαθων [ο]σα μη παρα
θεων εχομεν αλλα δι

› επιδιξε[ιεν η] πατρικω
τεραν της [προ]τερον γ[ε
νομενης [πριν] τας πλει
στας οικισ[θηναι] των
Ελληνιδω[ν πολε]ων·
η [μ]αλλον σ[υμφερ]ου
σ[α]ν της το[υς μεν] βαρ

› ταυτης ηγε[μονιαν επιδειξειεν
η πατριωτε(ραν) [

Col. x. Plate VII.

ραδειγμα ποι[η]σασα πρω
τη γαρ και νομους εθε
το· και πολιτειας κατε
στησ[ατ]ο· δηλον δ ε > § 40
κειθεν· οι γαρ εν αρχη
περι των φονικων >
εγκαλε[σ]αντες και βο[υ
ληθεντες μετα λογ[ου
και μη μετα βιας δι
αλυεσθαι τας προς αλ
ληλους εχθρας εν τοις
νομοις τοις ημετε
ροις τας κρισεις επ[οι
ησαντο περι αυτω[ν
και μεν δη και τω[ν τε
χνων τας προς ταναγ
[κ]αια του βιου χρησι >
[μ]ας και τας προς ηδο
νην μεμηχανημε
νας τας μεν ευρουσα
τας δε [δ]οκιμασασα. >
χρησθαι τοις α[[νθρω]]

αλληλους ημιν γεγο
νεν. μηδεν μεν ανευ
της πολε[ω]ς της ημε
τερας ειναι· τα δε πλει
στα δια ταυτην γεγενη
σθαι· παραλαβουσα γαρ § 39
τους Ελληνας ανομως
ζωντας· και σποραδην
και
οικουντας· τους μεν υ
πο δυναστειων υβριζο
μενους· τους δε δι αναρ
χιαν απολλυμενους. >
και τουτων των κακων
αυτους απηλλαξεν·
των μεν κυρια[[ι]] γενο
μενη· τοις δ' αὐτην πα
[λ]
[[π]]οις παρ[ε]δωκε· την § 41
τοινυν αλλην διοικη
σιν ουτως φιλοξενως
κατεσκευασατο και
προς απαντας οικει
ως· ωστε και τοις χρη
ματων δεομενο[ι]ς
και τοις απολαυσαι των
υπαρχοντων επιθυμου
σιν αμφοτεροις αρμοτ
τειν· και μητε τοις ευ
δαιμονουσι· μητε τοις
δυστυχουσιν εν ταις ε
αυτων αχρηστως εχειν
αλλ εκατεροις αυτων
ειναι παρ ημιν τοις μεν
ηδιστας διατριβα[ς] τοις
δε ασφαλεστατην κατα

Col. xviii.

. . . . . § 57
. . υ]φ ετεροις
[οντας παρα]λιπων τους
. . . . .

Col. xix.

. . . . . § 59
μ[ικρον εποιησαν αλλα
τοσο[υτον τας τυχας
εκ[α]τερ[ων μετηλλα
ξαν· ωσ[θ ο μεν ικετευ
ειν ημα[ς αξιωσας βια
των ε[χθρων απανθ ο
σων εδεη[θη διαπραξα
μενος απ ηλθεν Ευρυσ
[θ]ευς δε β[ιασασθαι προσ
[δοκησας αυτος αιχμα]
[λωτος γενομενο]ς ικ[ε
[της ηναγκασθ]η κατα

[στηναι και τω] μεν υ § 60
[περενεγκ]οντι την
[ανθρωπιν]ην φυσιν.
. . . . .

Col. xx.

. . . . .
[ετ]ε[λευτησεν πολλων § 61
[δ υ]παρ[χουσων ημιν
[ευ]εργε[σιων εις την πο
[λι]ν τη[ν Λακεδ]α[ιμονι
[ων]. πε[ρι ταυ]της μ[ονης
[μο]ι συμ[βεβη]κεν ε[ιπειν
[αφ]ορμ[ην γαρ] λαβον[τες
[τη]ν δι [ημων] αυτοι[ς γε
[ν]ομε[νην σ]ωτηρια[ν
[οι] προγ[ονο]ι μεν τω[ν
[ν]υν εν [Λα]κεδαιμ[ονι
[β]ασιλευοντων. εγγο[νοι
[δ Ηρ]ακλεους κατηλ[θον
[με]ν ει[ς] Πε[λο]ποννη[σον
[κα]τ[εσχ]ον [δ] Αργος κα[ι
[Λακεδαιμ]ον[α] και Μεσ[ση
[νην οικισ]ται δε Σπα[ρ
[της εγενον]το· και τω[ν

[παροντων] αγαθων [α
[παντων αυτ]οις αρ[χη
[γοι κατεστη]σαν· ω[ν ε § 62
[χρην εκεινου]ς με[μ
[νημενο]υς μηδ[επο
[τ εις την] χωραν ταυτ[ην
[εισβαλει]ν εξ ης ορμ[η
[θεντες ε]ις τοσαυτ[ην
[ευδαιμο]νια[ν κατεστη
[σαν μηδ ε]ί[ς] κινδυ[νους
[καθισταν]ι την πο[λιν
[την υ]περ των παι[δων
[των] Ηρακλεους πρ[ο
[κινδ]υνευσασαν· μ[η
[δε τοις] μεν απ εκει[νου
[γενο]μενοις διδονα[ι

Col. xxii.

ωστε περ[ι] μεν της εν § 65
τοις Ελλησι δυναστειας.
ουκ οιδ οπως αν τις σα
φεστερον επιδειξαι δυ
νηθειη· δοκει δε μοι § 66
και περι των προτερον
προς τους βαρβαρους τηι
πολει πεπραγμενων >

Col. xxiii.

δουλωσασ[θ]αι τους Ελλη
νας εφ ημας πρωτ[[η]]ου[s] ι
οντες· επιφανεστατ[[α]]ο[s] § 68
μεν ουν των πολεμων
ο Περσικος γεγονεν· ου
μην ελαττω γε τεκμη
ρια τ[[ω]]παλαια των εργων εστι[[ν]]

προσηκειν ειπειν· αλ
λως τ'[[ε]] επειδη και τον
ησ
λογον κατεσταμην πε
ρι της η[γ]εμονιας της ε
η
κεινους εσομεν[[ου]]ς·
απαντας μεν ουν εξα
ριθμων τους κινδυ >
λι
νους αν αν μακρολογοι
ην· περι δε των μεγι
στων τον αυτον τροπον
ι
ονπερ ολιγω προτερον
πειρασομαι και περι του
των διελθειν· εστι γαρ § 67
[α]ρχαιοτατα μεν των
[ε]θνων και τ[ά]ς μεγιστας
[δ]υναστειας εχοντα >
[Σ]κυθαι και Θρακες και
[Πε]ρσαι· τυγχανουσι δ ου
[τοι] μεν απαντες ημιν
σα η
[επ]ιβουλευ[[ο]]ντες η δ[[ε]]μετερα
[πο]λις προς απαντας
[του]τους διακινδυνευ
[σα]σα· καιτοι τι λοιπον
[εσ]ται τοις αντιλεγ[ο]υσιν
[η]ν επιδειχθωσι των
[μ]εν Ελληνων οι μη
[δυ]ναμεν[ο]ι τυγχα
[ν]ειν των δικα[ι]ων η
[μ]ας ικετευειν αξιουν
[τες]· [τ]ων δε βαρβαρων
[οι βο]υλομενοι κατα
τοις περι των πατριων
αμφισβητουσιν· ετι γαρ
ταπεινης ουσης της Ελ
λαδος ηλθον εις την χω
ραν ημων Θρακες μεν
μετ Ευμολπου του Πο
σιδωνος· Σκυθαι δε με
τ Αμαζονων των Αρε
ως θυγατερων· ου κα
[τα τον] αυτον χρονον·
[αλλα] κα[θ ο]ν καιρον ε
[κατε]ροι της Ευρωπης
[επηρχο]ν μισουντες >
[μεν α]παν το των Ελλη
[νων γ]ενος· ιδι[α]ι δε προς
[ημας εγ]κλημ[ατα] π[ο]ι
ησαμενοι· νομι[ζον
τες εκ [τ]ουτου του τ[ρο
που π[ρος] μιαν μεν [πο
λιν κινδυ[νε]υσειν· απα
σων δε αμ[α] κρατησειν·
ου μην κ[ατ]ωρθωσαν· § 69
αλλα προς μονους τους
προγονους τους ημε
τερους συμβαλοντες·
ομοιως διεφθαρησαν·
ω[σ]περ αν ει προς απαν
τας ανθρωπους επο
λεμησαν· δηλον δε το
μεγεθος των κακων
των γενομενων εκει
αν
νοις· ου γαρ . ποθ οι λογοι

Col. xxiv.

περι α[υτ]ων τοσουτον χρο
μη
νον διεμειναν. ει και
[[μη]] τα πραχθεντα πολυ
των αλλων δ[ι]ηνεγκεν·
λεγεται δ ουν περι μεν § 70
Αμαζονων ως των μεν
ελθουσων. ουδεμια πα
λιν απηλθεν· [α]ι δε υπολει
φθεισαι· δι[α τ]η[ν] ενθαδε
συμφορ[αν ε]κ της [[εξ]] αρ
χης εξεβλ[ηθ]ησαν· περι
ι
δε Θρακων οτι τον αλλον
χρονον ομορο[ι] οι προσ
οικουντες ημιν. δια την
τοτε γενομενην στρα
τειαν τοσουτον διελι >
πον. ωστε εν τω μετα
ξυ της χωρας εθνη πολ
λα· και γενη παντοδαπα·
και πολε[ι]ς μεγαλας κα
τοικισθηναι[·] τουτων
δε ουτω[ς] εχον[τω]ν ου
κ οκνητ[ε]ον εστ[ι] περι
των υπολοιπω[ν] ειπειν
α δη συμφερει τοις πρα
γμασιν μνησθηναι >
περι αυτων καλα μεν ουν και § 71
ταυτα και πρεπο[ν]τα
τοις περι της ηγε[μ]ονι
ας αμφισβητουσι[ν] α
δελφα δε των ειρη[μ]ε
νων και τα τοιαυ[θ οια

Col. xxv.

κινδυνω[ν εις τον αυτον
χρονον συ[μπεσοντων
και των με[ν πολεμι
ων ανυπο[στατων οιο
μενων ειν[αι δια το
πληθος. τω[ν δε συμμα
χων ανυπ[ερβλητον
η[γ]ουμενω[ν εχειν την
αρετην. αμ[φοτερων § 72
κ[ρ]ατησαντ[ες ως εκα
τερων προ[σηκεν και
προς απαν[τας τους
κινδυνου[ς διενεγ
κοντες. ευ[θυς μεν
των αριστ[ειων ηξι
ωθησαν ο[υ πολλω
δ υστερον τ[ην αρχην
της θαλατ[της ελαβον
δον[τ]ων μ[εν των αλ
[λων] Ελλην[ων ου
[κ αμ]φισβη[τουντων
[δε τω]ν νυν [ημας α
[φαιρε]ισθα[ι ζητουν
[τω]ν· και μ[ηδεις οι § 73
εσθω με αγ[νοειν ο
τι κα[ι] Λακε[δαιμονι
οι π[ε]ρι του[τους τους
καιρους π[ολλων
[αγα]θων αιτ[ιοι τοις
[Ελλ]ησι κατ[εστησαν
υτο
[αλλ]α δι α τουτο [και
[μα]λλον επαι[νειν

περ εικος τους εκ [των
τοιουτων γεγονο[τας
[[ς]] οι προς Δαρειον [κα]ι
Ξερξην πολεμησα[ντ]ες
επραξαν· μεγιστου γα[ρ
εκεινου πολεμου συ
σταντος. και πλειστων

[εχ]ω την πολι[ν οτι
[τοι]ουτων αντ[αγω
[ν]ιστων τυχου[σα το
σουτον αυτων [δι
νεγκεν· βουλο[μαι
δε μικρωι μακ[ροτε
ρα περι των πολ[εων ει
π̣ει̣ν̣ [κ]α̣[ι μη α]γα̣ν̣ [ταχυ

Col. xxviii.

[εσκοπουν οπ]ω̣ς ακρι § 78
[βως και καλως] εξου >
[σιν ουχ ουτω τους] πε
[ρι των ιδιων συ]μβο
[λαιων ως τους πε]ρι των
[καθ εκαστην τη]ν ημε
[ραν επιτηδευματ]ων·
. . . . .

]ε
.] πολλ(ων) ε[
γραμμ[α
]α̣τ̣α των α̣ . ( )[
]τ̣ . .
. . .

Col. xxix.

εσθαι και σωτηρε[ς αλ
λα μη λυμ[ε]ωνες [απο
καλει[σθαι τω] π̣οιε[ιν ευ
προσα[γορε]ν̣[ο]με[νοι τας
ου
πολεις αλλ[[α μη]] βια [κα
ταστρεφομενοι· πισ̣τ̣ο § 81
τεροις μεν τοις λογοι[ς η
[κ]α̣ι νυν τοις ορκοις χρ̣ω
[με]νοι· ταις δε συνθη
[και]ς ωσπερ αναγκαις
[εμ]μεν̣ειν] αξ̣[ιο]υντε[ς
ουχ [ουτως επι] τ̣α̣[ις
δυν[αστειαις
11 lines lost.
[αυταις] δ̣[ιανοιαις χρω § 82
[μενο]ι κα[ι τους ν̣ε̣ω̣[τε
[ρους ε]ν τ[οιουτοι]ς ηθε
[σι παιδ̣ευον̣τ̣ες ο]υτως
[ανδρας] αγαθ[ους α]πεδει
[ξαν του]ς πολε[μη]σαν
[τας προ]ς τους εκ της
δ
[Ασιας ω]στε μη[[θ]]ενα
[πωπο]τε δυνηθηναι

[περι αυ]των μητε των
[ποιητω]ν μητ[ε] των
[τ]ων
[σοφιστω]ν αξ[ι]ως πε
[πραγμε]νων [ε]ιπε[ι]ν
. . . . .

Col. xxx.

. . . . .
πω[ς γαρ αν γενοιντο συμ § 83
μετρ̣ο̣[ι τοιουτοις αν
δρασι[ν οι τοσουτον μεν
των επ[ι Τροιαν στρα
τευσ[αμενων διηνεγ
κα[ν
. . . . .

Col. xxxi.

[λε]υτησαιεν αλλα των § 84
[αυτ]ων [τ]οις εκ των θεων
[γεγο]νοσιν και καλου
[μενοι]ς ημιθεοις αξι
[ωθειε]ν· και γαρ εκει
[νοι] τ̣α μεν σωματα
[τ]αις της φυσεως αναγ
[κ]αις απεδοσαν της δ α
[ρε]της αθανατον την
[μ]νημην εποιησαν·
[αει] μεν ουν οι θ [ημ]ε § 85
[τεροι] προγονοι και Λα
[κεδαι]μονιοι φιλοτι
[μως πρ]ος αλληλους
[ειχον ο]υ μην α[λλα

Col. xxxii.

) προς το]υς εξ απασης τη[ς Ελλαδ]ο̣ς κατα
φρονη]σαντες απηντ[ων]
[πολε]μον ιδιον ποιησα
εξ
) [μεν]οι. προς τους απα>
[α]
σης της Ελλ[αδος κα]τα
φρονησαν[τας τη]ν οι
κ[εια]ν δυνα[μιν ε]χον
τες α̣[πην]τ̣ω̣[ν] ο̣λι̣[γ]ο̣[ι
προς [πολλας] μυ̣[ριαδας
ωσπε̣ρ εν αλλοτριαις
ψυχα̣ις μελλοντες
κιν[δυνευσειν οι δ ου
κ [ε]φ[θασαν πυθομενοι
τ[ον περι την Αττικην
πο[λεμον και παντων
τ[ων αλλων αμελησαν

[περι κα]λλιστα[ν εν ε
[κεινοις] τοις χ[ρονοις ε
[φιλονι]κησ[αν ουκ εχ
[θρο]υς. α[λλ ανταγωνισ
[τας] σφας [αυ]του[ς ειναι
[νομι]ζον[τες]· ουδε ε[πι δου
[λεια τ]ὴ[ν τω]ν Ε]λλην[ων
τον βαρβ[αρ]ον θε[ραπευ
[ο]ντες. αλλ[α] π[ερι μεν
[τ]ης κοιν[η]ς σ[ωτηριας
[ομο]νοου[ν]τε[ς οποτε
[ροι δ]ε ταυτης α[ιτιοι γε
[νησ]ονται. περ[ι τουτου
[ποιου]μενοι τη[ν α
[μιλλ]αν· επεδειξ[αντο
[δε τας] αυτων ευψυ
[χιας] πρωτον μεν εν
[τοις υ]πο Δαρειου π[εμ
[φθεισ]ιν· αποβαντων § 86
[γαρ αυτω]ν εις την Ατ
[τικην οι] μεν ου περι
[εμειναν] τ[ο]υς σ[υ]μμα
[χους αλλα] τ[ο]ν κ[οινον

[τες ηκον ημιν αμυ]
[νουντες τοσ]α[υτην
[ποιησαμενο]ι σπο[υ
[δην οσην πε]ρ αν τ[ης
[αυτων χωρ]α[ς] π[ορ[θου
[μενης ση]μειον δ[ε
[του ταχο]υς και της α
[μιλ]λης· τους μεν γα[ρ § 87
[η]μετερους προγονου[ς
[φ]α[σ[ι] της αυτης ημε
ρ[ας πυ]θεσθαι τ[ε] την>
α[ποβα]σιν την των βαρ
β[αρων] και βοηθ[ησ][[ο]]α[ν
τα[ς επι] τους ορους της
χω[ρας] μ[αχη] ν[ι[κη]σα[ν
τας τ[ρο]παι[ον στη]σαι>
των πολεμ[ιων τους δ εν
τρισιν ημ[εραις και το
σαυταις [νυξι διακο
σια και χ[ιλια σταδι]α δ[ι
ελθειν σ[τρατοπεδ]ω[ι πο
ρευομενου[ς] ο[ι[τω][[ς]]
[σφο]δρ'[[α]] ηπειχθησαν
[οι με]ν [μ]ετασχειν των

Col. xxxiii.

κινδ[υ]νων. οι δε φθηναι
συμ[β]αλοντες πριν ελ
[θειν] τους βοηθησον>
[τας με]τα δε ταυτα γε § 88
[νομενη]ς της υστερον
[στρατειας η]ν αυτος Ξερ
[ξης ηγαγεν ε]κλιπων>

Col. xxxiv.

νον. απ[ηντων διελομε
νοι τον [κινδυνον Λακε
δαιμ[ονιοι μεν εις Θερ
μοπ[υλας προς το πεζον
χιλιου[ς αυτων επιλε
ξαντες. κα[ι των συμ
μαχων ολ[ιγους παρα

[μεν τα βασιλεια] στρατη
[γος δε καταστη]ναι τολ
[μησας απαντας] δε τους
[εκ της Ασιας συ]ναγει
[ρας περι ου τις ου]χ υ
[περβολας προθυμ]η
[θεις ειπειν . . . . . .]ε
5 lines lost § 89
σ[α]σ[θ]αι. βουλ[ηθ]εις [δε
τ[οι]ουτο μν[η]με[ιο]ν >
καταλιπειν ο μη της
ανθρωπινης φυσεω[ς
ε[ργ]ον εστιν ου προτε
ρ[ο]ν επαυσατο πριν ε
ξευρεν και συνηναγκα
σεν ο παντε[ς] ανθρωποι
θρυλουσιν. ω[σ]τε στρα
τοπεδω[ι] πλε[υσ]αι μεν
δια [τ]ης ηπει[ρου] πεζευ
σα[ι] δε δια της θαλαττης·
τον μεν Ελλησποντον
ζευξας. τον δε Αθω δι
[ορ]υξας. προς δη τον ου § 90
[τω] μεγα φρονησαντα
και τηλικαυτα διαπρα
ξαμενον και τοσου >
των δεσποτην γενομε
λαβο[ν]τες [ως εν τοις
στε[νοι]ς κω[λυσοντες
αυ[τους] περ[αιτερω προ
[ελθειν] οι δ [ημετεροι
[πατερες] επ [Αρτεμισι
10 lines lost § 91
[ραθωνι μα]χης· κα[ι ζη
[το]υν[τες α]υτους [[[αυτο]ις]] α[υ]τ[ου]ς εξισωσ[αι
[ε]ξ ισο[υ κ]αταστησαι >
[και] δεδιοτες μη δ[[ις ε]] ε[[φ]]
[φεξης η] πολις ημων
αιτια [γενη]ται τοις Ελ
[λ]ησι τ[ης σωτη]ριας· ο[ι
[δ] ημετερ[οι] προγονοι
μαλιστα μεν βουλο >
μενοι διαφυλαξαι την
παρουσ[αν] δοξαν και πασι
πο[ιη]σαι φανερον οτι
[κ]αι προτερον δι αρετην
[α]λλ ου δια τυχην ενει
κη[σ]αν· επειτα δε και

Col. xxxv.

. . . . . § 92
κ[αδε καταπλευσαν
τ[ες ουτως εβουλευ
σα[ντο περι των λοιπων
ωσ[τε πολλων αυτοις

κα[ι καλων προειργα
σμ[ενων . . . . . .
εν [τοις τελευταιοις
τω[ν κινδυνων ετι πλεον
δι[νεγκαν αθυμως § 93

γα[ρ απαντων των συμ
μα[χων διακειμενων
και [Πελοποννησιων
μεν [διατειχιζοντων
το[ν Ισθμον

Col. xliv.

. . . . . § 109
[τιαν εχοντω]ν κ[αιτοι
[βουλομενοι π]λεο[νε
[κτειν ουκ α]ν δη που>
[της μεν Σ]κιωναιων
[γης επεθυ]μησαμεν
[ην Πλαταιεω]ν το[ις ως
[ημας καταφυγουσι] φα[ι
[νομεθα παραδον]τες
[τοσαυτην δε χωρα]ν
[παρελιπομεν η π]αν
[τας αν ημας ευπορ]ω
[τερους εποιησεν τ]οι § 110
[ουτων τοινυν ημ]ων
[γεγενημενων κα]ι
. . . . . .

Col. xlv.

. . . . . § 111
τ[
. [
ο[υ διεξηλθον οι τους
μεν [ανομωτατους πι
στοτ[ατους ενομιζον
του[ς δε προδοτας ως
περ ε[υεργετας εθερα
πευ[ον ηρουντο δε των
[[ν]] Ειλ[ωτων ενι δου]λευ
ειν ω[στ εις τας αυτ]ων
πατρ[ιδας υβριζειν] μαλ
δ
λον ε[τιμων του]ς αυτο
[χει]ρα[ς και φονεα]ς των
[πο]λι[των η τους γονε
[ας] το[υς αυτων εις § 112
[τουτο δ ωμοτητος] α

Col. xlvi.

6 lines lost
[τους συμπε]νθ[ησοντας

Col. xlvii.

κρινεν φυγας δε και στ[α] § 114
σεις και νομων συμ

[ε]πι δε της το[υτ]ων αρ
[χης δια το π]λ̣ηθ[ος των
[οικειων κα]κω[ν επ]αυ
[σαμεθ αλ]ληλο[υς ε]λε
[ουντες ου]θενι γ[αρ τ]ο
[σαυτην σχο]λην [παρ]ε
[λιπον ωσ]θ ετε[ρω]
[συναχθεσ]θηναι τινος § 113
[γαρ ουκ εφι]κοντο η
[τις ουτω π]ορρω των
[πολιτικω]ν ην εξε
[στηκως πρ]αγμα[τ]ων
[οστις ου]κ̣ [ε]γγυς η[ν]αγ
[κ]ασθη γενεσθαι των
[σ]υμφορων εις ας αι τοι
[α]υται φυσεις ημας
[κ]ατεστησαν ειτ ουκ αι
[σ]χυνονται τας εαυτων
[π]ολεις ουτως ανομως
δια[[τι]]θεντες και της
ημετερας [[ουτως]] αδι
κως κατηγορουντες·
αλλα προς τοις αλλοις
[κ]αι περι των δικων.
[κ]αι των γραφων των
[πο]τε παρ ημιν γενο
μ[ε]νων λεγειν τολ>
μωσιν αυτοι πλειους
[[η]] εν τρισι[[ν]] μησιν α
κριτους αποκτειναν
τες ων η πολις επι
της αρχης απασης ε

x
[[φ]]υσεις και π[ο]λιτ[ε]ιων
μεταβολας ετι δ[ε] παι
δων υβρεις και γ[υναι]
κων αισ[χυ]νας [κ]α[ι] χρη
ματων [[δ]] [αρ]παγ[ας] τις
αν δυναιτ[ο] διεξελθειν
πλην τοσουτον ειπειν
[ε]χοιμεν αν κατα παν
ε
των οτι τα μεν [[υ]]φ η>
ι ως
μων δεινα ραδι[[ον]] αν
τις ενι ψηφισματι δι
ελυσεν τας δε σφαγας
και τας ανομιας τας
επι τουτων γενομε
νας ουθεις αν ιασασθαι
δυναιτο· και μην ου § 115

δε την παρουσαν ειρη
νην ουδε την αυτο
νομιαν την ε[ν ταις
πολιτειαις μεν [ουκ εν
[[ν]]ουσαν εν δε ταις [συν
θηκαις αναγεγραμ[με
νην αξιον ελεσθ[αι
μαλλον η την αρ[χην
την ημεταραν· τ[ις
γαρ αν τοιαυτης κ[ατα
τασεω
σ[[κευη]]ς επιθυμ[ησειεν
εν ηι καταποντι[σται
μεν την θαλατ[ταν
κατεχουσι[[ν]] πε[λτα
σται δε τας πολε[ις κα

§ 116

725 [τ]αλαμβανουσ[ιν αν
τ[ι] δε του προς ετε[ρους
περι τη[ς χωρα[ς πο]λε
μειν εντος τε[ιχ]ους
οι πολιται προς αλλη
730 λους μαχο[ντ]αι πλε[ι]

Unidentified Fragments.

(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)	(*d*)
. .	. .	. .	. . .
. . δ[	] . ϵ	]ε̣μι	] . [. .
ϵτ̣[	]σ̣	]λ̣ους	]α̣στον
ϵ[	. .	. .	. . .
. .			

(*e*)	(*f*)	(*g*)	(*h*)
. .	. .	. .	. .
] .	]α̣υ	]π̣	]τ̣ο̣[
]α̣υ	]ωι	]ειν̣[	] . . [
]ν >	. .	]ονο̣[	]τω . [
. .		]ελ	] . [
		. .	. .

(*i*)	(*j*)	(*k*)	(*l*)
. .	. .	. .	. .
]ο . [	]α . [	] . ιο[[. [	]νο̣
]ιο̣	]ιο	]α	]τ̣ο
]ω̣δ[	. .	. .	. .
. .			

(*m*)	(*n*)	(*o*)	(*p*)
. .	. .	. .	. .
]ονα̣	]ειν̣[	]ου . [	] . αι[
]ετ̣[	]ε̣δ[	] . τ	] . [
. .	]ιο̣[	. .	. .
	. .		

(*q*)	(*r*)	(*s*)	(*t*)
]ασκ̣[	]ρ̣[	]ῳ̣[	]σα[
]τω̣[	]ενν̣[	]τ̣ε[	] . τ̣[

(*u*)	(*v*)	(*w*)	(*x*)
]ν̣[	] . ι̣[	]ε . [	]μοι̣[
]ο . [	]σ̣ε̣[	]ρ̣[	]β̣[.]

(*y*)	(*z*)	(*aa*)	(*bb*)
]ειρ̣[	]τον	]υτο̣[	]το[

1. *εδιδαξαν*: so Γ E; the marginal variant *διδαξαι* is parallel to the vulg. *ἀπαλλάξαι*.

9. *φιλονεικιας* is also the spelling of E, and is preferred by Drerup; but in a question between *ι* and *ει* the testimony of a papyrus of this period is of course valueless.

12. The original *εσται*, altered by the second hand, is condemned by the hiatus; *ἐστιν* B(lass).

17. *το*: om. MSS.

18. *ημων η [πο]λις*: *ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν* MSS.

21. *π]ερι*: so vulg.; the dots signifying deletion were superscribed by the second hand. Om. *περί* Γ.

23. The supplement at the beginning of the line is somewhat short for the lacuna.

29–31. *τὰς εὐεργεσίας καὶ τὰς χρείας* is the vulg. reading. *τ[ε* after *τ]ας* is very doubtful, and *τ]ας [ε]υ[εργεσιας* is a quite likely alternative. *τὰς χρείας καὶ τὰς ἐργασίας* Γ, *τάς τε χρείας κ.τ.λ.* E, B.

33–5. *ομολο]γουμενους*: so MSS., with *γενομένους* after *πρώτους*. A blank space was left by the scribe at the beginning of l. 34, and in this the corrector has inserted something, the slight vestiges of which suit *γ[ε]νεσθαι*, at the same time deleting *γενομενας* in l. 35 which reflected the omitted *γενομενους* after *πρωτους*. The result is an intelligible sentence in itself not inferior to that obtained by emending *ὁμολογουμένους* to *ὁμολογουμένως* (B. with H. Wolf and others) though not making a serious claim for consideration. *προς τε* is the reading of the MSS.

42. *γ[ε]γε[νη]μενους*: om. MSS. *περιεργον* is the reading of Γ; *πάρεργον* vulg.

45. *δωρ]εαν τα[σα]υτην*: so Γ; *δωρεᾶς τοσαύτης* vulg.

53. *ε]χομεν ειπειν*: so vulg.; *εἰπεῖν ἔχομεν* Γ.

60. *κατακεκ]λιμενο[υ]ς*: so Γ (*-κλειμ.*); *κατεκεκλεισμ.* E vulg., *κατακεκλημ.* M.

75. *και*: om. MSS.

79. εκ[ατε]ρας : so Γ, B. ; *ἑκάτερα*, which originally stood in the papyrus, is the vulg. reading.

81. απασας : so Γ ; *πάσας* vulg.

100. δει : l. *εδει*.

106–7. ηγε[μον]ικωτ[ερ]α[ν cannot be correct, since with this there is nothing for ταυτης to refer to except τα[υ]την in l. 104. The reading inserted by the corrector at the foot of the column agrees with the traditional text. πατρικωτεραν was perhaps influenced by ηγεμονικωτεραν : πατριωτ., as in the margin, MSS.

109. τας : so Γ ; om. vulg.

118. [ει]ς : so Γ ; *ἐπί* vulg.

123. εποιησατο τα[υ]την : ταύτην ἐπ. MSS.

128. αλ[λων καλως : so vulg., B. ; ἄλλων καλῶν καλῶς ΓΕ.

138. θεων : so Γ ; τῶν θεῶν Ε and vulg.

157. The alternative reading πολιτειαν is that of the MSS.

164–5. διαλυεσθαι τας προς αλληλους εχθρας : διαλύσασθαι τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους MSS.

168. αυτω[ν : so Γ ; τούτων vulg.

176. αλλοις, the reading of ΓΕ, has been substituted by the corrector for ανθρωποις. λοιποῖς vulg., and so B. on account of the following ἄλλην.

196. παρα]λιπων : so Γ : vulg. παραλιπόντες, with τίνες instead of τίς.

202. ε[χθρων απανθ : so Γ ; ἐχθ. κράτήσας ἅπ. vulg.

207. γενομενο]ς (Γ) is better suited to the space than γεγονώς (vulg.).

213. ημιν ευ]εργε[σιων : so Γ ; εὐεργ. ἡμῖν vulg.

215. τη[ν : so Γ ; τῶν E^1 vulg.

223. εγγο[νοι : so Θ ; ἔκγονοι Γ, &c.

230–1. αγαθων [απαντων αυτ]οις : so vulg. in the *Antidosis* ; ἀγ. αὐτ. ἁπ. ΓΕ, B., αὐτ. ἀγ. ἁπ. vulg. in the present passage.

234. The supplement at the beginning of the line hardly fills the lacuna, which would be expected to contain eight or nine letters ; perhaps there was some correction.

236. [εισβαλει]ν : so ΓΕ and *Antid.* vulg. ; there would not be room for the vulg. ἐμβάλλειν.

ορμ[ηθεντες : so ΓΕ *Antid.* ; ὁρμ. αὐτῶν οἱ πρόγονοι vulg.

237–8. ε]ις . . . κατεστησαν : so vulg. ; τοσ. εὐδ. κατέστησαντο Γ, τοσ. εὐδ. κατεκτήσαντο Ε, B., τοσ. εὐδ. ἐκτήσαντο, *Antid.* vulg.

245. [γενο]μενοις : so Λ and vulg. ; γενονόσι(ν) ΓΕ *Antid.* vulg.

251. προτερον : so Ε ; the omission of προτερον indicated by the line drawn over the letters (by the second hand) is in accord with Γ and *Antid.* vulg.

255. The correction is by the second hand.

258. εσομενης : om. MSS.

261. αγαν was apparently first written in place of λιαν αν.

262. περι : so Θ ; ἐπί Γ, &c. The papyrus omits στάς, which is found after μεγίστων in E^2 $Λ^2$.

264. προτερον : so Γ ; πρ. διῆλθον Ε vulg.

267. [α]ρχαιοτατα : so in the *Antid.* Θ, ἀρχαϊκώτατα Λ ; l. αρχικωτατα with MSS.

268. [ε]θνων : so vulg. ; γενῶν ΓΕ$Θ^2$. τας, the elimination of which is indicated by the superscribed dots (probably by the corrector), is omitted in the MSS.

273. η δε [πο]λις, the original reading, is that of Γ ; the addition of ημετερα is in accordance with the vulg.

290. ελαττω γε : so Cobet ; om. γε Γ ; ἐλ. τούτων E^1 vulg.

291. After τεκμηρια the first hand wrote των, and left a blank space between this and εστιν.

302. καιρον: om. MSS.

312. E has ἐπικρατήσειν.

323. The dot in the middle of the line apparently marks the place of the omitted αν.

336. οι, which is superfluous, is slightly smudged, and was perhaps intended to be deleted.

337–8. δια . . . στρατειαν: om. Γ and *Antid.*; διὰ τὴν τότε στρ. E¹, B., γεγενημένην for γενομενην vulg.

344–50. This passage, which has no other authority, is evidently based on the latter part of § 74. Its insertion here seems pointless. The λ of καλα in l. 350 is converted from ι, after which there was originally a blank space.

355. τα: om. MSS.; cf. l. 356.

356. [των: three or four letters are required to fill the line, and τα in l. 355 points the way; om. MSS.

357–8. The first hand probably made the wrong division γεγονοτα σοι.

361. εκεινου πολεμου συσταντος: so vulg.; πολ. συστ. ἐκ. Γ.

366. Om. οιομενων E¹, om. ειναι E².

376. A low stop after ς seems to have here been substituted for a high one.

379–80. So Γ; τῆς θαλ. τὴν ἀρχ. vulg.

389–90. του[τους τους] καιρους: so vulg.; τοὺς καιρ. τούτ. Γ, τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιρ. τούτ. *Antid.*

393. [αλλ]α: so vulg., B.; ἀλλὰ καί E¹, καί Γ.

δια τουτο is the reading of the MSS.; the corrector's δι αυτο τουτο is no improvement. και after τουτο is omitted by E².

395. πολι[ν: so Γ; πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν E¹ vulg.

400. μικρωι: so ΘΛ in the *Antid.*; ὀλίγῳ MSS. here.

401. των πολ[εων: τοῖν πολέοιν Γ, B.; τοῖν π. τούτοιν and ταῖν π. ταύταιν other MSS.

402. α]γαν [ταχυ: ταχὺ λίαν MSS. For αγαν cf. l. 261; the reading here is not certain, but λ]αν at any rate is impossible. αγαν produces a hiatus.

408. τη]ν: so Γ; om. vulg.

410 sqq. The marginal adscript indicates that this fragment comes from § 78, but its position is not clearly marked, and there was evidently a divergence from the ordinary text.]ε in l. 410 may be δ]ε]ησει, and the word after γραμμ[α]των is very likely αλ(λα); but something certainly intervened between πολλ(ων) and γραμμ[α]των. The penultimate letter in l. 412 is either τ or γ.

417. προσα[γορε]ν[ο]με[νοι: so Θ in *Antid.*, the mistake being occasioned by the preceding προσαγορεύεσθαι; but the ν in the papyrus is very uncertain. προσαγόμενοι MSS.

421. [κ]αι: om. MSS.

425. E¹ adds αὐτῶν after ταῖς.

440. τ[οιουτοι]ς: so vulg., with and without ἐν. τοῖς τοιούτοις Γ.

449. The MSS. add ἐκείνοις after τῶν, which was here originally omitted. ἐκείνοις is also omitted by ΘΛ in the *Antid.*

450. The column contained one or two more lines.

453. It is not certain that the papyrus read μεν with ΓΕΘ²; om. vulg.

461. The space points to εκει[νοι] (E¹ vulg.) rather than εκει[νων] (Γ), but not very decidedly.

466. εποιησαν: so ΓΕΘ²; κατέλιπον E marg., vulg.

471. και (vulg.) was possibly written after α]λλα, though the line is not too short without it.

480. π[ερι μεν: so Γ; ἅμα μὲν περί vulg.

487. ευψ[υχιας: so vulg. in the *Antid.*, B.; εὐτυχίας Θ², ἀρετάς ΓΕ.

497. ιδιαν: so ΓΕ, B.; ἴδ. κίνδυνον vulg.

498 sqq. τους απασης: so MSS. The corrector has inserted εξ before απασης here and

at the top of the column (ll. 495–6), where the passage is rewritten. The intruded *εξ* is there accompanied by the variant *καταφρονησαντες* for *-τας*, a reading also found in Λ in the *Antid.*, *απηντων* on the other hand being placed in its traditional position instead of after *εχοντες* as in l. 501. As the original scribe gives the ordinary text in l. 497 it is likely that he wrote correctly *καταφρονησαντας* in l. 500.

517. *α̣μιλ̣λης*: *ἀμ. αὐτῶν* in the *Antid.*

522. *την*: om. *Antid.*

523. *βοηθ̣[ησ̣]οντα̣ς*, the original reading, is also found in ΘΛ in the *Antid.*

525. *μ̣[αχη̣]*: so ΓΕ; the reading is uncertain, but there does not seem to be room for *και μαχη*.

532–3. The corrections are by the second hand.

535. *φθηναι*: so ΓΕ and *Antid.*; *ὀφθῆναι* vulg.; the termination *αι* is written over an angular complementary mark.

536. The letter after *τ* looks like *ο*, but this is probably owing to the disappearance of some fibres of the papyrus.

548. After *εἰπεῖν* the ordinary text has *ἐλάττω τῶν ὑπαρχόντων εἴρηκεν*, which cannot be reconciled with the remains in the papyrus; perhaps *ειρηκεν | ε̣λαττω*.

555. *τ̣ο̣ι̣ουτο*: so Λ here and in the *Antid.*; *τοιοῦτον* other MSS.

558. There is no word in the traditional text here between *φύσεως* and *ἐστιν*, but ΘΛ in the *Antid.* have *ἔργον*, which no doubt stood in the papyrus. The final *ν* is fairly certain, and the first letter must be either *ε* or *θ*.

561. *ανθρωποι*: om. MSS.

562. *θρυλουσιν*: so Γ; *θρυλλοῦσιν* vulg.

στρατοπεδωι: *τῷ στρ.* MSS.

569. *μεγα* is omitted by E^2.

596–7. *α̣υτους ε̣ξ ισο̣[υ κ]αταστησαι*: so vulg.; the marginal adscript gives the reading of Γ and B.

598. The second hand, besides rightly emending *δε* to *δις*, proceeded to alter the division of *εφεξης*, but changed his mind.

602. *προγονοι*: so Ε and vulg., om. Γ; *πατέρες Antid.* vulg. *οἱ δ' ἡμ. πατέρες* had occurred in the previous section, *οἵ θ' ἡμ. πρόγονοι* in § 85.

605. A blank space was left by the first hand before *δοξαν*; cf. l. 34.

607. *προτερον*: so vulg.; *τὸ πρότ.* Γ.

608. *τυχην*: so Γ; *τὴν τύχ.* vulg.

609. *δε*: so vulg. and *Antid.*; om. Γ.

610–1. In the MSS. of the *Antidosis* the words *καὶ κατασκευάσαντες τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν* intervene between *καταπλεύσαντες* and *οὕτως*, and the papyrus would admit of their restoration (*κ̣ε̣υασαντες τα περι | τ̣[ην πολιν ουτως κ.τ.λ.*); but this would make Col. xxxv a rather long one, whereas l. 623 stands higher than l. 609, and it seems more likely that there was no disagreement here with other MSS. of the *Panegyricus*. *καὶ . . . πόλιν* is bracketed by B.

613–5. *αυτοις | κα̣ι καλων*: so ΘΛ in the *Antid.* To read *και | κα̣λων αυτοις* produces too great a disproportion in length between ll. 613 and 614. As to what followed *προειργασμενων* there is no clue.

630. The papyrus most probably had *καταφυγουσι*; *φυγοῦσι* Γ originally.

638. The slight vestige points to a round letter at the beginning of the line, above and slightly to the left of which there is a *τ* by the second hand. Perhaps the original scribe wrote *ων* instead of *των*.

645. *ενι*: so Γ, B.; *ενιοις* (vulg.) would be too long for the lacuna. The deletion of *ν* at the beginning of the line is probably by the second hand.

647. παρι[δας was originally written for πατριδας ; the correction is probably due to the second hand.

659. συμπε]νθ[ησοντας: so Victorius, B. ; συμπεθήσοντας Γ, συμπαθ. Ε and vulg. The ν is broken, but α cannot be read.

664. ου]θενι: οὐδενί edd. ; cf. l. 445, where the corrector has substituted δ for θ.

669. ουτω: so Γ; οὕτω τοσοῦτον vulg.

670. εξε[στηκως: om. MSS. Cf. § 171 τοῖς τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐξεστηκόσι.

677. τας: so Γ; τὰς μέν vulg.

679. και της: so Γ; τῆς δ' Ε, vulg. The deletions in this line and the next are probably due to the corrector.

688. The appearance of the papyrus suggests that the scribe partially erased the superfluous letter, which is most probably an η, at the beginning of the line.

693. The corrector omitted to alter the μ of συμ.

698. It is unlikely that διαρπαγας was originally written.

701. [ε]χοιμεν αν: ἔχω MSS.

κατα παντων: so vulg. ; καθ' ἁπάντων Γ.

708. ουθεις: cf. l. 664, note.

713. ενουσαν was originally wrongly divided ε|νουσαν.

719. The corrector's κ[ατα]στασεως is the reading of the MSS.

729. οι πολιται προς αλληλους: so Γ; πρὸς ἀλλ. οἱ πολ. vulg.

Fr. (*d*). This fragment might be placed above l. 29,]αστον being restored as εκ]αστον and an intervening line being lost.

Fr. (*z*), which is from the top of a column, may be the end of l. 363.

APPENDIX I

Addenda and Corrigenda to 'Oxyrhynchus Papyri', Parts III and IV.

For the literature connected with these volumes see the various bibliographies of papyri by U. Wilcken and F. Blass in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* iii, S. De Ricci in *Rev. des études grecques* 1905, and P. Viereck in Bursian's *Jahresber.* 1907. After comparing with the originals the suggestions which have been made, we give a list of most of those which, whether right or wrong, affect our transcriptions. Supplements of lacunae and readings already indicated in our notes are generally ignored. Where the source of the correction is not indicated, it is our own.

III. **404**. 4. *μιαρον τ[ι* (Deissmann), cannot be read.

408. 57. *αυλ[οις* (Schroeder) is possible, as is his suggestion *ανε[ωυξε* in l. 61. The following suggestions by him or Fraccaroli are unsuitable: 25. *αμφι [βου]ταις*, 33. *πανσεμεν Αμφιτρυωνιαδας*, 62. *λιπ[οισαι*, 64. *καρ[τεμιδι*. Whether Fr. (*d*) belongs to **408** is very doubtful; the verso is in a different hand.

409. 6. *τ]ο παιδαριον* (Leo) is possible. 35. *παρε[ρπυ]σας* (Leo) is possible. 41. *αδικο]ς εστι* (Leo) is unsuitable. 45. *αδι[νατον* (Kretschmar) is possible. 63. *π]αλιν* (Leo) does not suit the vestiges very well. 58. *δι[α]τουτον* (Leo) can be read. 63. *ουτ[οι δ] εισιν* (Leo) is possible. 80. *μεθη[κας* (Leo) is possible, but not *βλαψεις* in l. 81. 100. *το λοι[πον ου* is inadmissible.

410. 84. *δι[α[θε]ωμενος* (Fuhr) can be read.

411. 36. *τη[ς στρατι]ας* (Fuhr) is possible.

412. 6. l. *νεοπενθεα οιτον* for *νεοπενθε αωτον* (Hefermehl, *Berl. Phil. Wochenschr.*, March 31, 1906). 9. l. *περα* (sic) for *παρα*. 33. *[ιλατε] τ Ωριευ* (Ludwich, *Berl. Phil. Wochenschr.*, Nov. 14, 1903) is possible, and in l. 35 *ε]ως* can be read. 55. For *επεικ[τη]ς* there is not room.

413. 6. *δηλ]ονότι* (Sudhaus) is possible. 28. *ἐρε]γμός* (Crusius, *Herondas, Mimiambi*, 1905, pp. 101 sqq.) does not suit the vestige of the letter before *μ* which seems to be *ι* or *ο*. 53. *οἱ πεν[θοῦντες* (Crus.) is unsuitable. 57. Crusius' proposed reading *τ δ ὀντων [προ]ς ἀλλή[λους* is possible but very doubtful. 91. *παραλλα[ξ* (Crus.) may be right. 112. *μ]αίνεσ(θαι) ποιήσ(εις)* (Sudh.) is possible, but the first letter after the lacuna is more like *δ*. l. *δ[ό]ς μ[ο]* for *μ . . [. .]ν*. 113. *θᾶ]ττον* (Sudh.) is unsuitable. 116. *ἄν] τοὶ[ς ὀδό]ντας* (Sudh.) is unsuitable. 118 marg. l. *σκληρύτερ(ος)* for *σκλῆρό(ς) τε* (Sudh.). 130. *καὶ ἐκ[εί]ν(οι)* (Crus.) is possible, but the next word is not *ἀφανεῖς* (Sudh.) or *ἀόρατοι* (Crus.). 130. *καταγγελ[λω* (Crus., Sudh.) is possible. 132. *δ[ιέ]φυγον* (Crus., Sudh.) cannot be read. 133. *ἐπαρᾶσ(θ)αι* (Crus.) is possible. 134. Neither Crusius' *ἐπίπρησσον δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα* nor Sudhaus' *ἐπιπεσεῖν ὄντως ὑμῖν φαινόμενα* suits the vestiges. 139. *[ἦ δ' ἦν ἄρα* (Crus.) is possible, but not *ἐκ]εῖν' ἄρα* (Sudh.). 147. *μέ τις* for *μ' ἔρις* (Sudh.) is probably right. 148. Neither *ἄγαμαι* nor *κατά]κειμαι* (Crus.) nor *κωμαστά* (Sudh.) is suitable. 151. *πο]τε* (Sudh.) or *ἔρως] τε* (Crus.) can be read. 152. *κ]ε[λ]μένας* (Sudh.) is unsuitable. 178. *ἀγων(ία?)* which we printed in the margin against l. 213 probably refers to this line (Crus., Sudh.). 181. *λέξω* (Sudh.) is possible. 186. *λόγῳ* (Sudh.) is unsuitable. 186. *π[οτ]έ* (Sudh.) is possible, but not *π[ρί]ν* (Crus.).

420. 2. φ[ι]λοτ[ησ]ιων (Fuhr) or α[π]λοτ[ι]μων (G. G. A. Murray) is possible. 7. εκθρεψας (Fuhr) is possible, but there is not room for πστ' in the lacuna before it.

448. A new fragment belonging to the bottom of Col. xviii contains the beginnings of ll. 263–73 *την δ' α[παμειβ., δαιμ[ονιη, ειπ[εμεν, ου μ[εν, χαιρ[ω, ελθ[ειν, εις [, ανε[ρες, ουδ α[ρα, ουδ ε[υηρε, σημα [.*

452. 10. l. *πρωτοι* for *πρωτον*.

464. 3. *στερεσει* (Kroll) is inadmissible. 5. *σχομ]ενην* (Ludwich) is possible. 6. ε]κ δουλων and ξι[νεσει (Kroll, Ludw.) are possible. 12. μ[ελλοντος (Ludw.) is possible. 13. *και[ρονο]μον* (Ludw.) can be read. 14. *κρατε]ρον* (Kroll) is unsuitable. 15. *φαυλων* (Kroll) is possible. 16. *θεμ[α* (Kroll) can be read. 18. *εχοιεν* (Kroll) is inadmissible. 19. *π]ροδομ[ων* (Ludw.) is inadmissible, but *η ο[τ] ε[π]νευσωσι* is possible, while *δη]λευσωσι κακοι παλιν* (Kroll) is inadmissible. 20. *κα]ι αλλοι* (Ludw.) can be read, but not *δ]ωμα*. 21. l. *εισιδοι* (for *εσιδοι*) Ludw., but *ωμο[ν* is inadmissible, as is *ωμ[οτο]κον* (Kroll). 22. *Δη]μοφιλου* (Kroll) and *κο]υροφιλου* (Ludw.) are not long enough. 28. *Παφιη* (Kroll) is inadmissible. 35. *]αλλα γης* (Ludw.) is possible. 37. *κακ]ος* (Ludw.) or *φα]ος* (Kroll) can be read. 38. *κιν[δυνους* (Kroll, Ludw.) is possible. 39. *χαλε]παι* (Kroll, Ludw.) can be read. 40. *πολυτεκνοι[ντος* (Ludw.) is inadmissible. 43. l. *αριδηλος* (Kroll, Ludw.). 45. *μαρτυρες η ης* (Ludw.) is inadmissible. 54. l. *εκ σκοτειης* (Kroll). 55. *αντα[ν* (Ludw.) is possible. 58. *φα[ι]νω[ν* (Ludw.) is possible. 61. *ρ̣ιζις* (Ludw.) is possible.

471. The Maximus against whom this speech is directed seems to be the praefect in 103–7, Vibius Maximus. De Ricci suggests that the erasure of his name on the Coptos tariff and the Abu Tufa milestone may be due to these proceedings. 6. l. *ὄν* i. e. *ὑπ(ερ) οὗ* for *ὃν* (Wilcken). 18. *δουδην* (i. e. *σπουδήν*) can be read for *δούλην* (De Ricci). 20. *θλιβομένων* (Crönert) is possible. 24. *ο]ἵετα ι* (Crön.) is unsuitable, but his suggestion *παντός* is possible. 28. *γάρ* (Crön.) is unsuitable. 62. *δο[λ]είων* (Wilck.) can be read. 75. *οὐ* can be read for *σν*, as suggested by T. Nicklin and Crönert, but the letters seem to have been deleted. 108. *ὁ̣χλ]ηρόν* (Crön.) is unsuitable. 131. l. *Μάξ[ιμε* (Wilck.). 142–3. l. *Ο[ὐαλέ]ριος* (Wilck.). 145. l. *τ[ῶν ἐκεῖ* (Wilck.). 146. l. *ἀρ[χὴν ἔτη δέ]κα* (Wilck.). 147. Wilcken restores *παιδε[ίᾳ τε καὶ ἐπί]*. 151–3. Wilcken conjectures *παρ' [αὐτοῦ περὶ | τῶν τοιούτ[ων ἀφροδι[σίων*. 154. Wilcken's suggestion *ὁ [δέ* does not suit; *κ[αί* can be read.

472. 24. *καταγραφόντων* (Crön.) is possible. 25. *παρε[χθ]έντων* (Crön.) cannot be read. *τούτου[ς δ' οὐκ]* (Crön.) is possible. 37. The mutilated word is not *οὐκοῦν* (Cron.). 48. *διατεθῆναι* (Crön.) is unsuitable.

481. 2. l. *πρώ]τως* for *οὕ]τως*; cf. P. Tebt. II. p. 132.

485. 3. l. *ἐκ* for *πα(ρά)*. *ἐνώπιον* cannot be read in l. 36.

488. 22. l. *[ἰδ]ίαν*; cf. P. Tebt. II. 327. 28 and **487**. 18.

491. 5. Crönert suggests *καθ' ὁνδηποτοῦν τρόπον* after *αἱρῆται*, but the passage is hopelessly illegible. 19. l. *κυβερνώσης* (Crön.).

492. 9. The word before *ἐκτείσει* is not *καί* (Crön.).

494. 44. Probably *παρ]ετέθη*; cf. **713**. 1 *παρετέθ(η)*.

495. 9–10. *πᾶν διευθύ[νειν ὡς ἂν αὐτῇ δοκῇ* (Crön.) is possible.

496. 10. *ἐάν ποτε συμβῇ* (Crön.) is unsuitable, as also is his suggestion *αἱρῆται* in l. 15.

499. 15. l. *χόρτῳ* for *χόρτον*.

500. 11–2. l. *ἀ[π' Ἰ]ουδαίων* and *φ[κλ]ηρονομήτων* (cf. B. G. U. 868. 12) (Crön.).

504. 16. *ὥστε*] *χρᾶσθαι αὐτοῖς* (Crön.) is unsuitable. 20. *]περὶ τοῦτο* (Crön.) is possible. 44. *τοῦ δια[δόχου* (Crön.) is not very suitable.

506. 28. *[ἰδ]ιόκτητος* (Crön.) can be read, but the following *τοῦ* renders a proper name more likely. 38. *παραγραφ]ῆς* (Crön.) is possible.

525. 8. λα[ϐώ]ν (Crön.) for λω[το]ῦ is possible.
530. 8. ἤδη for ἐπί (Crön.) is unsuitable.
533. 13. τελ ἐως] (Crön.) is unsuitable. The letter after *γάρ* might be almost anything. 17. l. *εἰς Πυ[κέ]ρκη.*
611. l. Ματρέα (cf. **529.** 13) for *μετρεα* (Crön.).
653. 18 sqq. l. *κιρπ[οῖ* for *καρπ[οῦ.*
IV. **659.** 64. α[ιηκεν (Schroeder) is unsuitable.
660. 9. *μαλα* (Wilamowitz) is unsuitable.
662. 34. *αντιπαλων το πριν* (Wilam.) is unsuitable. 39. *παρ Ευρηταο* (Wilam.) is unsuitable. 51. Neither *αυαλεον* nor *αυσταλεον* (Wilam.) can be read.
663. 5. κ]οισιν (Körte) is probable. 8. The corrupt *πνων* is emended by Rutherford to *π(ερὶ) ἰ̣ῶν*, by Körte to *π(ερὶ) τῶν*, the next word being *ποιη(τῶν)* in either case.
664. 155. Λ]υκοφ[ρων (Wilam.) is unsuitable.
665. 12. l. Ακρα[γαν]τ̣ινων επι.
666. 163. *εκ το]υ* (Wilam.) is possible, but the vestiges suit *εις* better than *εκ.*
668. Fr. (*c*) should be turned the other way up and read as *diu*, belonging to l. 164, where l. *gla]dium.*
680. 3. l. *μετα* for̄ *μεγα.*
681. 4. α]κρου συμ̣πε̣σο[ν]τ̣ (Fuhr) is unsuitable. 11. [αυ]τ̣ (Fuhr) is unsuitable.
682. 5. π̣ερ̣ι̣[σ]τ̣[ελλει (Fuhr) is possible.
696. 90. l. ε[λαθε, 3 lines being lost between this and the line beginning *α* (Fuhr).
697. 38. Perhaps τοτ[ε] ε[φαι]νετο ειναι, as Fuhr suggests.
701. 26–8. Perhaps *των νο|μ[ων ουδε τοις αλ|λ̣οις*, as Fuhr suggests.
705. 41. l. *π̣ρὸς τὸ τα[μεῖο̣ν̣]* (Wilam.). 78. Wilcken prefers χ[ωρί̣ου to χ[όρτ̣ου.
717. 5. *μετὰ τούτο̣ν* (Wilam.) is unsuitable.
720. 7. *Caesarib(us)* c̣[oss (De Ricci) can be read. 5. *sena[tus consulto* (Gradenwitz) after *et* is unsuitable. 15. Wilcken's suggestion *legi* for *cepi* is very doubtful, especially the supposed *g.*
735. l. *ἀριθμῷ ν* for *ἀριθμῶν* (De Ricci). 14. *ad cognlega* is resolved by Wilcken *ad cogn(oscendum) lega(tur)*, by De Ricci *ad cogn(itionem) lega(ti).* 15. *Serraeus* for *Ierraeus* (De Ricci) is possible. 16. l. *Gaddius* for *Gradius* (De Ricci). 22. *Salmeus* (De Ricci) is possible. 27. De Ricci suggests *cum epistrat(ego)* at the beginning of the line, which is possible. 29. l. *Eponuchus* (De Ricci).
736. 81 Σεκούνταϛ (Wilam.) is unsuitable.

APPENDIX II

List of Papyri distributed.

We give here a list of published Oxyrhynchus and Hibeh papyri which have been presented to different museums and libraries in Europe and America in addition to those of which a list was given in Part IV, pp. 265–71, and also some further details about those Oxyrhynchus and Fayûm papyri which in the former list were assigned to America without a more precise indication. We have added the present reference numbers (where ascertained) of the several institutions to which the papyri now belong. The papyri which do not

appear in either list are still at Queen's College, Oxford. The following abbreviations are employed:—

B. M. = British Museum. The numbers refer to the Catalogue of Greek Papyri.
Bodl. = Bodleian Library, Oxford. The references are to the hand-list of MSS.
Bolton = Chadwick Museum, Bolton, Lancashire.
Bristol = Bristol Museum.
Brussels = Musées Royaux, Brussels, Belgium.
Cairo = Museum of Antiquities, Cairo, Egypt. These papyri remain temporarily with us at Oxford.
Cambridge = Cambridge University Library. The numbers refer to the 'Additions'.
Carnegie = Carnegie Institute, Pittsburg, U.S.A.
Charterhouse = Library of Charterhouse School, Godalming, Surrey.
Chicago = Haskell Oriental Museum, University of Chicago, U.S.A.
Columbia = Library of Columbia University, New York, U.S.A.
Cornell = Library of Cornell University, U.S.A. The papyri are numbered MSS. A 101.
Dublin = Library of Trinity College, Dublin.
Edinburgh = Library of Edinburgh University.
Gen. Theol. = General Theological Seminary, New York, U.S.A.
Graz = Library of Graz University, Austria.
Harvard = Semitic Museum of Harvard University, Mass., U.S.A.
Holyoke = Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. U.S.A.
Johns Hop. = Library of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, U.S.A.
Manchester = Museum of Manchester University.
McCormick = Library of McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, U.S.A.
Michigan = University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.
Morgan = Pierpoint Morgan Collection, New York, U.S.A.
Pennsyl. = Museum of Science and Art, University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A.
Princeton = Library of Princeton College, New Jersey, U.S.A.
Smithsonian = Smithsonian Institution, Washington, U.S.A.
Toronto = Museum of Victoria University, Toronto, Canada.
Union Theol. = Union Theological Seminary, New York, U.S.A.
Vassar = Library of Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, U.S.A.
Wellesley = Wellesley College, Mass., U.S.A.
Western Res. = Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.
Yale = Library of Yale University, U.S.A.

Oxyrhynchus Papyri.

I.

34. Bodl. Gr. class. *a.* 9 (P).

II.

211. Harvard.
213. Yale.
219. Yale.
250. Pennsyl. 2797.
254–6. Union Theol.
257. Michigan.
259. Pennsyl. 2798.
267. Johns Hop.
268. Yale.
271. Harvard.
272. Michigan.
274. Union Theol.
276. Yale.
287. Columbia.
293. Columbia.
294. Princeton.
295. Columbia.
297. Columbia.
298. Princeton.
392. Princeton.
395. Michigan.

III.

401–2. Harvard.
403. Gen. Theol.
404. Bodl. Gr. theol. *f.* 10 (P).
405. Cambridge Add. 4413.
406. McCormick BH 88470. 1.
408. Yale.
409. Bodl. Gr. class. *c.* 55 (P).
410. Bodl. Gr. class. *d.* 75 (P).

411. B. M. 1523.
413. Bodl. Gr. class. *b*. 4 (P).
414. Columbia.
415. Graz I. 1930.
416. Brussels.
417. Smithsonian.
418. Harvard.
419. Brussels.
420. B. M. 1524.
421–3. Harvard.
424. Graz I. 1926.
425. Brussels.
426. Toronto.
427. B. M. 1525.
428. Harvard.
429. Manchester.
430–1. Harvard.
432. Graz I. 1929.
433. CambridgeAdd. 4414.
434. Harvard.
435–6. Yale.
437. Brussels.
438. Yale.
439. Bolton.
440. Manchester.
441. Brussels.
442. Dublin Pap. E. 8.
443. Graz I. 1927.
444. Yale.
446–7. Harvard.
448. Cornell.
458. Harvard.
459. Columbia.
460–2. Harvard.
464. Bodl. Gr. class. *d*. 75 (P).
465. B. M. 1526.
466. Columbia.
467. Bodl. Gr. class. *f*. 73 (P).
468. Edinburgh.
469. Chicago.
470. Dublin Pap. F. 8.
471. Bodl. Gr. class. *a*. 10 (P).
472. Morgan.
473. B. M. 1527.
474. Manchester.
475. Charterhouse.
476. Chicago.
477. Columbia.
478. Brussels.
479–80. Chicago.
481. Gen. Theol.
482. Chicago.
483. Pennsyl. 2822.
485. Bodl. Gr. class. *c*. 56 (P).
486. Columbia.
487. Chicago.
488. Brussels.
489. B. M. 1528.
490. Graz I. 1920.
491. Morgan.
492. Dublin Pap. C. 4.
493. Toronto.
494. B. M. 1529.
495. Brussels.
496. Bodl. Gr. class. *a*. 9 (P).
497. Yale.
498. Toronto.
500. Graz III. 1918.
502–3. Cornell.
504. Bodl. Gr. class. *c*. 57 (P).
505. Cornell.
506. Harvard.
507. Brussels.
508. Cornell.
509. Brussels.
510. Chicago.
511. Graz I. 1931.
512. Chicago.
513. Toronto.
514. Vassar.
515. Smithsonian.
516–8. Pennsyl. 2799–2801.
519. Brussels.
520–1. Columbia.
522. Yale.
523. Cornell.
524–5. Vassar.
526–7. Pennsyl. 2802–3.
528. Dublin Pap. F. 9.
529. Pennsyl. 2804.
530. B. M. 1530.
531–2. Pennsyl. 2805–6.
533. Harvard.
534–40. Columbia.
541. Cornell.
543–9. Cornell.
551. Princeton.
552–3. Harvard.
555–7. Harvard.
559. Harvard.
561–72. Johns Hop.
574. Bodl. Gr. class. *f*. 74 (P).
575. Chicago.
577–8. Chicago.
579. Gen. Theol.
580. Johns Hop.
582. Johns Hop.
583–4. Michigan.
585–8. Johns Hop.
590–8. Holyoke.
599. Gen. Theol.
605–7. Yale.
609–10. Chicago.
611. Carnegie.
612. Pennsyl.
613. Princeton.
615. Princeton.
616–7. Yale.
618–20. Princeton.
621–7. Yale.
628–32. Pennsyl. 2807–11.
633. Union Theol.
638. Yale.
639–43. UnionTheol.
645. Yale.
646. Manchester.
648–50. Pennsyl. 2793–5.
652. Pennsyl. 2796.
653. Bodl. Gr. class. *c*. 58 (P).

IV.

654. B. M. 1531.
655. Harvard.
656. Bodl. Gr. bibl. *d*. 5 (P).
657. B. M. 1532.
658. Yale.
659. B. M. 1533.
660. Graz I. 1923.
661. Cairo.
662. B. M. 1533.
663. CambridgeAdd. 4415.
664. Cairo.
665. Toronto.
666. Bodl. Gr. class. *d*. 76 (P).
667. Dublin Pap. F. 10.
668. B. M. 1532.
669. Cairo.
670–2. Wellesley.
673. Brussels.
674. Dublin Pap. F. 11.
675. Graz I. 1922.
676–8. Wellesley.
679. Brussels.
680. Manchester.
681. Johns Hop.
682. Edinburgh.
683. Manchester.
684. Johns Hop.
685. Bodl. Gr. class. *f*. 75 (P).
686. B. M. 1534.
687. B. M. 1535.
688. B. M. 1536.
689. Wellesley.
690. Brussels.
691–2. Wellesley.
693–5. Princeton.
696. Pennsyl. 2814.
697. Dublin Pap. E. 9.
698. Wellesley.
699. Dublin Pap. F. 11.
700–2. Harvard.
703. Bodl. Gr. class. *g*. 51 (P).
704. Pennsyl. 2820.
705. CambridgeAdd. 4416.

706. Pennsyl. 2823.
707. Morgan.
708. Manchester.
709. Bodl. Gr. class. *e.* 88 (P).
710. Brussels.
711. Graz I. 1925.
712. Cairo.
713. B. M. 1537.
714. B. M. 1538.
715. Bristol.
716. CambridgeAdd. 4418.
717. Cairo.
718. Columbia.
719. Yale.
720. Bodl. Lat. class. *d.* 12 (P).
721. Cairo.
722. Columbia.
723. Cairo.
724. Carnegie.
725. Toronto.
726. Cairo.
727. B. M. 1539.
728. Cairo.
729. B. M. 1540.
730. Cairo.
731. Manchester.
732–4. Cairo.
735. Morgan.
736. Brussels.
737. Western Res.
738. Graz I. 1921.
739. Cairo.
740. CambridgeAdd. 4417.
741. CambridgeAdd. 4419.
742. B. M. 1541.
743. Brussels.
744. Toronto.
745. Columbia.
746. Brussels.
747. Charterhouse.
748. Western Res.
749. Cairo.
750. Western Res.
751. Cairo.
752. Western Res.
753. Toronto.
754–5. Princeton.
756–8. Yale.
759. Brussels.
760. Graz I. 1928.
761. Harvard.
762. Pennsyl. 2815.
763. Cairo.
764–5. Harvard.
766–9. Johns Hop.
770. Bolton.
771. Manchester.
772. Bristol.
773. Brussels.
774. Johns Hop.
775. Pennsyl. 2821.
776. Pennsyl. 2817.
777. Cairo.
778. Pennsyl. 2818.
779. Cairo.
780. Dublin Pap. F. 12.
781. Pennsyl. 2819.
782. Pennsyl. 2816.
783. Edinburgh.
784. B. M. 1542.
785. Morgan.
786. Cairo.
787. Columbia.
788. Morgan.
789–91. Columbia.
792. Toronto.
793–4. Cairo.
795. Morgan.
796–7. Columbia.
798. Morgan.
799–801. Cairo.
802. Graz I. 1933.
803. Harvard.
804. Toronto.
805. McCormick BH 88470. 2.
806. Cairo.
807. McCormick BH 88470. 3.
808. Cairo.
809. Carnegie.
810. Cairo.
811–2. Vassar.
813. Brussels.
814. Carnegie.
815–7. Cairo.
818. B. M. 1543.
819. Vassar.
820. Cairo.
821. Vassar.
822. Wellesley.
823. Brussels.
824. Wellesley.
825. Cairo.
826. Wellesley.
827. Cairo.
828. Graz I. 1934.
829. Wellesley.
830–1. Gen. Theol.
832. B. M. 1544.
833. CambridgeAdd. 4420.
834. CambridgeAdd. 4421.
835. Gen. Theol.
836. Brussels.
837–8. Cairo.
839. Bodl. Gr. class. *c.* 59 (P).

Fayûm Papyri.

9. Holyoke.
14. Michigan.
19. Chicago.
20. Pennsyl. 2776.
22. Pennsyl. 2782.
23. Chicago.
53. Pennsyl. 2789.
58. Pennsyl. 2791.
59. Pennsyl. 2788.
60. Pennsyl. 2783.
63. Pennsyl. 2781.
64. Yale.
65. Pennsyl. 2779.
77. Pennsyl. 2780.
80. Pennsyl. 2787.
81. Pennsyl. 2790.
86. Pennsyl. 2792.
86 (*a*). Yale.
94. Princeton.
103. Princeton.
106. Princeton.
110. Columbia.
113. Yale.
115. Yale.
117. Pennsyl. 2785.
119. Pennsyl. 2786.
120. Pennsyl. 2784.
137–8. Yale.
145. Harvard.
147–50. Harvard.
154. Michigan.
156. Michigan.
158–9. Michigan.
190–5. Princeton.
222. Harvard.
225. Harvard.
227. Harvard.
230. Harvard.
239. Princeton.
241. Cornell.
243. Cornell.
245–7. Cornell.
250. Chicago.
251. Cornell.
253. Pennsyl. 2777.
255–7. Michigan.
261. Pennsyl. 2778.
263. Columbia.
265. Yale.
267. Yale.
268. Holyoke.
271. Princeton.
272–3. Yale.
274–7. Chicago.
291–3. Union Theol.
296. Johns Hop.

299. Harvard.
304. Johns Hop.
306. Johns Hop.
314–7. Cornell.
320–1. Harvard.
331. Johns Hop.
333. Johns Hop.
335. Yale.
338. Cornell.
343. Johns Hop.
347–8. Johns Hop.

Hibeh Papyri.

35–6. Harvard.
37. Carnegie.
39. Brussels.
42. Graz I. 1924.
43. Carnegie.
44. Yale.
46. Morgan.
49. Yale.
54. Toronto.
55–6. Yale.
60. McCormick BH 88442. 1.
61. McCormick BH 88442. 2.
62. Brussels.
75. Pennsyl. 2824.
79. Pennsyl. 2825.
83. Harvard.
86. Carnegie.
103. Carnegie.
114. Carnegie.
118. Columbia.
120. Smithsonian.
122. Smithsonian.
123. Western Res.
125–7. Gen. Theol.
129. McCormick BH 88442. 3.
134. Brussels.
135 McCormick BH 88442. 4.
136. Cairo.
138. Graz I. 1932.
139. McCormick BH 88442. 5.
140. Brussels.
141–4. Columbia.
149. Princeton.
152–3. Princeton.
154. Vassar.
155. Smithsonian.
157–8. Harvard.
159–62. Yale.
163. Princeton.
164. Cairo.
165. Princeton.
168. Graz I. 1919.
170. Smithsonian.

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ἀποδιδόναι IX. 36 sch.
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ἀπομερίζειν Frs. 129–31. 6 sch.
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Ἀριστοφάνης (?) II. 75 sch.; VI. 89 sch., 181 sch.
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αὐταρχεῖν IV. 37.
αὐτός II. 43 sch.; VI. 7 sch.; Fr. 82. 4 sch.
αὐχεῖν II. 37 sch.
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δαίμων VI. 131.
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Δάλιος V. 1 *et saep.*; Fr. 47. 2.
Δᾶλος IV. 12; V. 17 (?), 40.
δᾶμος Fr. 28. 4.
δᾶος II. 40.
Δαρδανία VI. 90.
Δαρδανίδαι Fr. 82. 27.
δαρόν I. 9.
δάφνη Fr. 107 sch.
δαφνηφορικός Fr. 107 sch.
δεδοικέναι Fr. 19. 23.
δεῖν II. 55 sch., 57 sch.
δεινός Frs. 129–31. 4 sch.
δέλτος Fr. 19. 2.
Δελφοί II. 98; VI. 1 sch., 16, 63; Fr. 134. 5 sch.
δέμας V. 42; VI. 80.
δέχεσθαι V. 45; VI. 5, 129.
δηλονότι VI. 11 sch.
Δήρηνος II. 5.
δηριάζεσθαι VI. 119.
διά VI. 7 sch.; Frs. 129–31. 3 sch., 6 sch.
διαγιγνώσκειν IV. 21.
διαδιδόναι Fr. 16. 16.
διαπέρθειν VI. 104.
διαρπάζειν VI. 118 sch.
διᾳστοῦν VI. 96.
διατρίβειν VI. 134 sch.
διαφέρειν II. 43 sch.
διδόναι II. 53; III. 101 (?); IV. 52; V. 41; Fr. 16. 12.
δικ . . . Fr. 66. 2 sch.
δικαίως Fr. 84. 12.
διό VI. 118 sch.
Διομήδης VI. 76.
δίς Frs. 129–31. 1 sch.
διώκειν II. 4.
Διώνυσος IV. 25.
δοκεῖν II. 43 sch.; Fr. 82. 29.
δόξα Fr. 49. 2.
δύτειρα VII. 1 (?).
δρῦς IV. 52.
δύναμις I. 4.
δύνασθαι II. 33 sch., 37 sch., 73 sch.; Frs. 129–31. 1 sch., 4 sch.
δυνατός VI. 52. δυνατώτερος IV. 5.
δυσμενής II. 69.
δυσχεραίνειν VI. 118 sch.
δῶμα Fr. 26. 6.
δώρημα IV. 26 sch.
Δωριεύς VI. 123.

ἐάν II. 31 sch., 43 sch.
ἑᾶν IV. 50, 51.
ἑβδομος IV. 38.
ἐγγυαλίζειν VI. 133.
ἐγείρειν VI. 108.
ἐγκατατιθέναι II. 61.
ἐγκεῖσθαι II. 52.
ἐγώ II. 26, 102; IV. 21. 49; V. 44; VI. 5, 58; Fr. 16. 16; Fr. 19. 23; Fr. 84. 14; Fr. 94. 2 (νῶιν); Frs. 129–31. 19 (ἐμίν).
ἑδνοῦν IV. 4.
ἕζεσθαι Fr. 19. 18.
ἐθέλειν II. 79 and sch.; IV. 28; Fr. 19. 21.
ἔθνος VI. 64.
εἰ II. 31, 57 sch.; VI. 91.
εἶδος Fr. 35. 1.
εἰδωλοποιεῖν VI. 130 sch. (?).
εἰκάδιος Fr. 134. 9 sch.; cf. Fr. 134. 3.
εἰλιομαν (?) v. l. VI. 183.
εἶναι II. 3 sch., 28, 48 sch., 75 (ἔν = ἐόν);

IV. 27, 35, 49, 52; VI. 11 sch.; Fr. 21. 7; Fr. 73 sch.; Frs. 129–31. 1 sch., 3 sch.; Fr. 134. 2 sch.
εἰς II. 75 sch.; IV. 13 sch.
εἰς II. 33 sch.; VI. 1 sch., 7 sch., Col. xxv sch., 118 sch.; Fr. 19. 4; IX. 9; Fr. 139. 2 sch.
ἐκ III. 95 sch.; Fr. 84. 14 sch.; Fr. 134. 4 sch. ἐξ ἀρχᾶς IX. 20.
Ἑκάβα Fr. 82. 27.
ἑκαβόλος VI. 79, 111; IX. 38.
ἑκάεργος Fr. 19. 12.
ἑκάς IV. 35.
ἕκαστος VI. 62 sch.
Ἑκάτα II. 78.
ἑκάτερος Fr. 82. 15 sch.
ἕκατι IX. 46.
ἑκατόγχειρ Fr. 82. 31.
ἑκατόν IV. 37.
ἐκβάλλειν II. 63 sch.
ἐκδικία VI. 118 sch. ἐκδι[κ . . . Fr. 134. 3 sch.
ἐκεῖ IV. 50 sch.
ἐκπονεῖν II. 43 sch.
ἑκών II. 102.
ελ . . . II. 27 sch.
ἐλαύνειν III. 16; IX. 6.
ἐλαχύνωτος IV. 14.
Ἑλένα VI. 95.
ἑλικάμπυξ III. 15.
Ἑλικωνιάδες Fr. 16. 14.
ἑλικῶπις II. 99.
Ἑλλάνιος VI. 125.
Ἑλλήνιος VI. 125 sch.
Ἕλλανίς IV. 23.
Ἑλλάς VI. 62 sch.
ἐλπίς II. 43 sch.
ἐμβάλλειν VI. 78.
ἐμμογεῖν II. 57 sch.
ἐμός II. 29; IV. 44; VI. 11 and sch.; Frs. 129–31. 17.
ἔμπαν II. 29.
ἔμπεδος II. 27. ἔμπεδον IV. 49.
ἐν II. 31 sch., 43 sch., 48 sch., 69 sch.; III. 12; VI. 5, 61, 98, 106, 119 sch., 120, 124 sch., 125 sch.; Fr. 19. 24; Fr. 95. 5 sch.; IX. 3, 17 sch., 36 sch., 40 sch., 41; Fr. 162. 2 sch.
ἐναίρειν VI. 114.
ἔνατος Frs. 129–31. 3.
ἐνεῖναι VI. 123.
ἔνθα V. 44.
ἐνιαυτός I. 5.
ἐνναετηρίς Frs. 129–31. 1 sch., 6 sch.
Ἐννοσίδας IV. 41.
ἐνοικεῖν II. 63 sch.
ἔντεα II. 74.
ἔντιμος VI. 11 sch.
ἐνύπνιον Fr. 82. 19 sch.
ἐξαίρετος IX. 42.
ἐξέρχεσθαι Fr. 82. 2 sch.
ἐξικνεῖσθαι VI. 110.
ἐξοπίσω II. 27.
ἑός IV. 39.
ἐπαινεῖν IV. 36.
ἐπεί IV. 50 sch.; V. 40; VI. 7 sch., 98; Fr. 17. 3; Fr. 84. 15 sch.
ἔπειτα II. 65; IV. 46; VI. 105.
ἐπευθρώσκειν VI. 114.
ἐπέρχεσθαι I. 7; II. 63 sch.
ἔπεσθαι Fr. 22. 3 (?).
ἔπηλυς II. 48 sch.
ἐπί I. 3; IV. 16 sch.; VI. 7 and sch., 100, 116, 134 and sch., 140; Fr. 19. 10 sch., 27; Fr. 26. 7; Fr. 82. 11 sch.
ἐπιπίπτειν II. 64.
ἐπίσκοτος IX. 5.
ἐπιτελεῖν Fr. 82. 18 sch., 19 sch.; IX. 34 sch.
ἐπιτέλλειν IX. 28–9 sch.
ἐπιτίθεσθαι II. 48 sch.
ἐπιτρέπειν IX. 46.
ἐπιχώριος IV. 46; VI. 138.
ἔπος IV. 5; VI. Col. xxv sch.; VII. 2 sch.; Fr. 84. 10.
ἔρασθαι VI. 58; Fr. 19. 29.
ἔργον Fr. 87. 3.
ἐρέπτειν I. 9.
ἐρευνᾶν Fr. 16. 15.
Ἐρεχθεύς V. 45 sch.
ἐρῆμος IV. 47.
ἐρίζειν VI. 87 and sch.
ἐρικυδής V. 39.
Ἐρινύς Fr. 82. 30.
ἐρίπνη V. 21 sch.
ἐρκεῖος VI. 114.
ἔρπειν II. 26.
ἔρρειν II. 33 sch.
ἔρχεσθαι II. 68; VI. 9, 100; Fr. 16. 15; Fr. 82. 5 sch.; Fr. 137. 2 sch.
ἐς IV. 44; VI. 115; VII. 3.

ἐσλός II. 102.
ἔτας VI. 10.
ἔτι Frs. 129–31. 21.
ἔτος VI. 62 sch.; Frs. 129–31. 6 sch.
εὐαγής v. l. Fr. 19. 25.
εὐαγορία II. 67.
εὐαντής VII. 18.
εὐαυγής Fr. 19. 25, v. l. εὐαγής and ναναγής (?).
Εὔβοια V. 35.
εὐβουλία II. 50.
εὐδία II. 52.
εὐερκής IV. 45.
εὐετηρία VI. 62 sch.
εὐθετεῖν II. 43 sch.
εὐθέως Fr. 82. 18 sch.
εὐθυμία I. 2.
εὔκαρπος II. 26.
εὐκλεής II. 103.
εὐμηχανία Fr. 16. 11.
εὐμενής II. 78; V. 45.
εὐνά Fr. 19. 20.
εὐνάζειν VI. 128.
εὐνομία I. 10.
Εὐξάντιος IV. 35, 60 sch.
εὔοδμος II. 97.
εὔπεπλος Fr. 16. 10.
εὐπλεκής III. 12.
Εὔριπος IX. 49.
εὑρίσκειν VI. 53.
εὐρυβίας VI. 103; IX. 41.
εὐρύοπα VI. 134; Fr. 82. 24.
εὐρύς VI. 60, 96, 120.
εὐρυφαρέτρα VI. 11.
εὔφρων VI. 115.
εὔχεσθαι VI. 64, 125 sch.
ἔφοδος II. 43 sch.
ἐφορᾶν II. 29.
ἔχειν IV. 48; V. 39; VI. Col. xxv sch., 57; Fr. 26. 3; Frs. 129–31. 4 sch.
ἐχθρός II. 32, 54.

ζάθεος II. 63; VI. 5.
ζάκοτος IX. 18.
Ζέαθος IX. 44.
ζευγνύναι Frs. 129–31. 20.
Ζεύς IV. 41; VI. 1, 94, 125 and sch.; Fr. 19. 21; Fr. 92. 3; IX. 7.
Ζηνόδοτος IV. 58 sch.; VI. 55 sch., 59 sch., 118 sch., 119 sch., 183 sch.

ἤ II. 37 sch., 43 sch., 48 sch.; VI. 118 sch.; IX. 6, 14–7, 17 sch., 19.
ἦ IV. 21, 25. = ἔφη (?) Fr. 19. 21.
ἤδη II. 55.
ἡμεῖς II. 55 sch.
ἡμέτερος II. 73 sch., 77 sch.
ἡνίκα II. 29 sch.; Fr. 82. 4 sch.
Ἥρα VI. 88.
ἥρως IV. 58 sch. (?).
ἡσυχία II. 33; IV. 7.
ἦτοι VI. 118 sch., 130 sch. (?).
ἦτορ VI. 12.

θαλία VI. 14.
θάλλειν II. 52.
θαμά II. 98; Fr. 19. 27.
θαμινά VI. 16.
θάμνος IV. 52.
θαρρεῖν II. 23 sch.
θεά III. 15; VI. Col. xxv sch.
Θεμίγονος I. 6.
θεμίξενος VI. 131.
θέμις Fr. 84. 15 sch.; IX. 41.
θεράπων V. 45.
θέρος IX. 17 and sch.
θεσπέσιος VII. 1.
Θέτις VI. 84.
θεός II. 54, 65 and sch.; IV. 17; VI. 51, 61, 80, 94, 112; Fr. 82. 4 sch.; Fr. 95. 3 sch.
Θέων II. 37 sch.
Θήβα I. 7.
Θῆβαι Fr. 82. 11 sch.; IX. 9, 40 sch.
Θηβαῖοι Fr. 134. 7 sch.
θήρ Fr. 26. 5.
θηρεύειν II. 55 sch.
θοός IX. 7.
θούς VI. 18.
θρασύς VI. 86; v. l. Fr. 96. 1.
Θρᾳκία II. 25.
Θρονία II. 1.
θρόνος IX. 36.
θυγάτηρ Fr. 16. 10; Fr. 19. 22.
θύειν III. 96 sch.; VI. 62.
θυόεις III. 8.
θώραξ II. 1 sch.

Ἰάων II. 3.
ἰέναι Fr. 17. 2.
ἰεπαιὰν IV. 31, 62.

ἱερόν VI. 125 sch.
ἱερός III. 93. ἱερώτατον Fr. 82. 2; Fr. 87. 3.
ἴζειν VI. 93.
ἰῆ I. 5; IV. 31, 62; VI. 121, 122.
ἰήϊος II. 35, 71, 107; V. 1 *et saep.*; Fr. 28. 3.
ικαδ . . . (εἰκάδιος?) Fr. 134. 3 sch.
ἱκετεύειν IX. 8.
ἱκνεῖσθαι VI. 116.
Ἴλιον VI. 81, 104; Fr. 82. 32.
ἰμερ . . . Frs. 129–31. 18.
ἵνα VI. 11 sch., 140.
Ἰόνιος Fr. 46. 4 (?).
ἱππικόν II. 43 sch.
ἵππιος Fr. 26. 3.
ἵππος II. 41, 43 sch.; VI. 107; Fr. 16. 6 (?), 7.
ἱπποσόας IX. 7.
ἱπποχάρμας II. 104.
ἴσαμι Fr. 22. 3.
Ἰσμ[ην . . . Fr. 161.
Ἰσμήνιον IX. 35 sch., 40 sch.
Ἰσμήνιος Fr. 26. 7.
Ἰσμηνός Fr. 138. 1 sch. (?).
ἰσόρυθμος Fr. 90. 2.
ἴσος VI. 54. ἴσως II. 106 sch.
ἵστασθαι II. 38, 99.
ἰσχύς IX. 4.
ἰχθύς IV. 20.
Ἰωνία II. 3 sch.

Κάδμος IX. 44.
καίειν Frs. 129–31. 19.
καινός IV. 38 sch.
καιρός II. 31 sch., 34.
κάλαμος IX. 36.
καλεῖν II. 5 sch., 96; Fr. 19. 26.
καλός II. 66.
κάμνειν II. 27.
καπνός III. 96 sch.
Καρθαία IV. 13.
καρπός IX. 14.
κάρτιστος v. l. Fr. 19. 28.
Κασταλία VI. 8.
Καστάλιος Fr. 134. 1 sch.
κατά II. 43 sch.; IV. 6; VI. 11 sch.
καταβαίνειν II. 34; VI. 13, 60.
κατακλύζειν IX. 19.
καταλέγειν VI. 129; Fr. 84. 15 sch.
κατάσκιος VI. 139.
κατερείπειν Fr. 82. 33.
κατοικεῖν IV. 60 sch.; Fr. 139. 3 sch.
κε(ν) IV. 50; VI. 90.
κέαρ IV. 61 sch.; Fr. 82. 21.
κεδνός IV. 58 sch.; VI. 12, 105.
κεῖνος II. 68; Frs. 129–31. 19.
κελαδεῖν II. 101; VII. 17; v. l. Fr. 16. 5.
κελαδεννός V. 46.
κελαινεφής VI. 55.
κέλης Fr. 46. 4.
κενέωσις IX. 16.
Κέος IV. 60 sch.
κεραυνός IV. 43.
Κέως IV. 7, 13 sch.
Κηφισός VI. 7 sch.
κίων Fr. 90. 4.
κλάζειν Fr. 82. 20.
κλᾶρος IV. 48.
κλέπτειν IX. 3.
κλίνειν Fr. 84. 11.
κλύειν VI. 58.
Κλύμενος Fr. 82. 8 sch.
κλυτόμαντις VI. 2; Frs. 129–31. 22.
κλυτός v. l. VI. 14; Fr. 84. 13.
κοινός, κατὰ κοινοῦ VI. 11 sch.
κοινᾶσθαι Fr. 84. 11.
Κοῖος Fr. 19. 22.
κόμα VI. 138.
κόρα VI. 16; Fr. 16. 11; IX. 43.
κορυφά VI. 93; VII. 12; Fr. 82. 23.
κραίνειν II. 103; IX. 34.
κράτιστος Fr. 19. 28 (v. l. κάρτιστος).
κρέας VI. 118 sch.
Κρήτη IV. 50 sch.; Fr. 134. 4 sch.
Κρόνιος VI. 68; Fr. 26. 6.
Κρονίων Fr. 82. 25.
Κρόνος VI. 134.
κρύπτειν VI. 138.
κτᾶσθαι II. 59.
κτείνειν VI. 119; inf. κτάνειν VI. 119 sch.
κτίζειν II. 29 sch.; V. 39.
κυανόκομος v. l. VI. 83.
κυανόπλοκος VI. 83 (v. l. κυανόκομος).
κῦμα VI. 100.
κυπάρισσος IV. 50 and sch.
κύριος Fr. 116. 2 sch.
κωλύειν VI. 118 sch.

λαγχάνειν IV. 53.
λομβάνειν II. 3 sch.; VI. 130.

λάμπειν III. 95 sch.
λανθάνειν VI. 110.
λαός I. 9; II. 3, 48; VI. 179.
Λατοίδας VI. 15; Fr. 33. 4 (?).
Λατώ V. 44.
λέγειν IV. 39; VI. 11 sch.; VII. 13; Fr. 19. 16 sch.; Fr. 71. 4 sch.; Fr. 82. 33; IX. 35 sch.; Frs. 129–31. 4 sch., 7 sch.
λείπειν II. 36, 72, 108; IV. 29, 45.
λευκώλενος VI. 87.
λέχος VI. 140; Fr. 19. 10 sch.; IX. 35, 42.
λέων VI. 7 sch.
λῆμμα II. 37 sch.
λίαν IV. 48; Fr. 162. 1.
λιμός VI. 64.
λίσσεσθαι VI. 3.
λιτανεύειν IX. 38.
λόγος II. 77; IV. 35; Fr. 82. 24; Fr. 84. 14 sch.
λοιπός II. 33 sch.; Fr. 84. 8.
Λοξίας VI. 60.
λοχεία Fr. 19. 10 sch.
λυτός Fr. 86. 3 (?).
μαίεσθαι IV. 36.
μάκαρ IV. 46; Fr. 48. 2.
μάλα Fr. 84. 12.
μαλακός II. 52.
μᾶλλον II. 48 sch.
μάν II. 39.
μανίειν II. 46.
μαντεία Fr. 65. 2 sch.
μαντεύεσθαι Fr. 82. 1 sch.; Fr. 129. 3 sch.
μάντις Fr. 26. 9; Fr. 84. 13; Fr. 95. 6 sch. (?).
μάρνασθαι II. 39.
μάταιος IV. 34.
μάτηρ II. 28, 29; III. 6; IV. 44; VI. 12, 105; IX. 2.
μάτρως Fr. 27. 2.
μεγαλόκοτος IX. 17 sch.
μέγας II. 26; IV. 48; VI. 90; Fr. 84. 10.
μεδέων VI. 124.
Μέλαμπος IV. 28.
Μελάμφυλλον II. 69 and sch.
μέλι VI. 59.
Μελία IX. 35, 43.
μελίγαρυς III. 11; V. 47.
μέλλειν II. 57 sch., 77 sch.
μέλπεσθαι VI. 17.
μέν II. 53; IV. 22; VI. 51; Fr. 84. 14; Fr. 90. 3; Frs. 129–31. 18.
μένος VI. 88.
μέντοι VI. 11 sch.
μέρος IV. 38.
μετά II. 43 sch.; Fr. 95. 5 sch. (?); IX. 21, 36 sch.; Frs. 129–31. 4 sch.
μεταπορεύεσθαι IX. 49 sch.
μετρίως I. 3 sch.
μέτρον I. 3; VI. 121.
μέχρι VI. 62 sch.
μή II. 26; IV. 16 sch.; VI. 91, 115.
μήδεσθαι IX. 1.
μῆδος IX. 37.
μήν II. 75.
μήποτε II. 36, 72, 108; Fr. 84. 14 sch.
μήτε VI. 116.
μιγνύναι Fr. 19. 29; IX. 43.
μιν II. 73; VI. 115 (v. l. νιν); Fr. 19. 24 (v. l. νιν), 26; Frs. 129–31. 18.
Μναμοσύνα VI. 56; Fr. 16. 11.
μοῖρα II. 64.
μοίριος (μυριος Pap., v. l. Πύθιος) VI. 118.
Μοῖσα IV. 24; VI. 181.
Μοισαῖος IX. 39.
Μολοσσίς VI. 109.
μολπά II. 96.
μοναρχεῖν IV. 29.
μόριον III. 95 sch.
μόρσιμος VI. 94.
Μοῦσα Fr. 95. 3 sch.
μόχθος II. 33 and sch.
Μυρμιδόνες VI. 107.

ναίειν II. 24; IV. 21; V. 36.
Ναΐς II. 1.
ναός III. 7.
νᾶσος V. 39; VI. 124.
ναναγής (?) v. l. Fr. 19. 25.
ναυπρύτανις VI. 130.
ναύτας Fr. 19. 26.
νέκυς VI. 98.
νέμειν VI. 54; Fr. 33. 4.
νεόπολις II. 28.
Νεοπτόλεμος VI. 102.
νέος VI. 122; IX. 20. νεώτερος IX. 6.
νέφος VI. 92.
νηλής Fr. 26. 5.
νῆσος IV. 16 sch.
νικᾶν II. 63 sch.
νικαφορία Fr. 48. 3.
νίκη II. 43 sch., 106 sch.

νιν IV. 15; v. l. VI. 115; VI. 180; v. l. Fr. 19. 24; Fr. 82. 32; IX. 47.
νιφετός IX. 14.
νοεῖν II. 54.
νόημα I. 3; II. 43 sch.
νόμος II. 102.
νομός IV. 51.
νόος V. 45.
νοτερός IX. 17 sch.
νότιος IX. 17 and sch.
νῦν I. 5; VI. 121.
ννν VI. 58.
νῶτον VI. 139.

ξενία VI. 61.
ξενοκαδής Frs. 129–31. 14.

ὁ demonstr., τᾶς Fr. 19. 28. τῷ IX. 44. τοί II. 59; IV. 42. τὰ καὶ τά VI. 132.
ὅδε II. 3; Fr. 82. 29.
ὁδός IV. 6; Fr. 16. 15; IX. 4.
ὀδυνηρός I. 1.
ὅθεν Fr. 134. 5 sch.
οἰκεῖν V. 42.
οἴκοθεν IV. 32.
οἰκόθετος I. 4.
οἶκος IV. 45.
οἶμος VI. 115.
οἷον II. 3 sch., 43 sch., 55 sch.
οἴχεσθαι II. 55; IV. 61 sch.
οἰωνοπόλος IV. 30.
ὀκτώ III. 10.
ὄλβος II. 60; VI. 133; IX. 9.
ὀλίγος IV. 52.
ὀλοός Fr. 82. 21.
ὅλος IV. 45.
ὀλοφύρεσθαι IX. 21.
Ὀλύμπιος VI. 1.
Ὄλυμπος VI. 92.
Ὅμηρος Fr. 17. 1; Frs. 129–31. 4 sch.
ὅμιλος VI. 108.
ὄμμα IX. 2.
ὀμνύναι VI. 112.
ὅμοιος II. 37 sch.
ὀμφά III. 94; V. 48.
ὀμφαλός VI. 16, 120.
ὁμώνυμος Fr. 134. 6.
Ὀνείτης IV. 61 sch. (?).
ὀξέως II. 48 sch.
ὀνομάκλυτος VI. 123.
ὀπίσω VI. 101.
ὅπλον Fr. 93. 4.
ὅπου II. 5 sch.; VI. 125 sch.
ὁρᾶν I. 3; VI. 106.
ὅρκος Frs. 129–31. 4 sch.
ὀρνύειν IV. 11.
Ὀρσοτρίαινα IX. 47.
Ὀρτυγία Fr. 19. 26.
ὀρφανός VI. 9.
ὅς II. 79 sch.; III. 95 sch.; IV. 36; VI. 62 sch., 77, 104, 113, 118 sch.; Fr. 82, 27; IX. 41.
ὅσος, ὅσσος VI. 87, 89 and sch.
ὅστε VI. 63.
ὅστις Fr. 16. 14.
ὅτε Fr. 86. 1.
ὅτι IX. 21.
οὐ, οὐκ IV. 28, 53; VI. 94, 127; Fr. 19. 21; Fr. 86. 3.
οὐδέ II. 55 sch.; VI. 110, 111.
οὐδείς IX. 21.
οὐκέτι II. 55 sch.
οὐλόμενος IX. 15.
οὕνεκεν VI. 127.
Οὐρανός Fr. 16. 10.
οὔτε VI. 105, 106.
οὗτος II. 43 sch., 69 sch., 105 sch.; VI. 51, 57; Fr. 16. 16; Fr. 82. 17 sch.; IX. 36 sch.; Frs. 129–31. 1 sch., 4 sch.; Fr. 162. 3 sch. οὕτως Fr. 69. 1 sch.; Fr. 82. 35 sch.
ὀψίτερος VI. 82.

παγετός IX. 17.
πάγκοινος IX. 10.
πάθα Fr. 82. 26.
πάθος Fr. 82. 17 sch.
παιάν II. 4, 35, 71, 107; V. 47; VI. 182.
παιήων VI. 121, 127.
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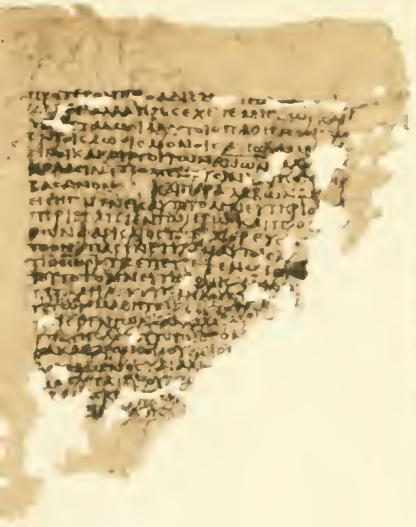

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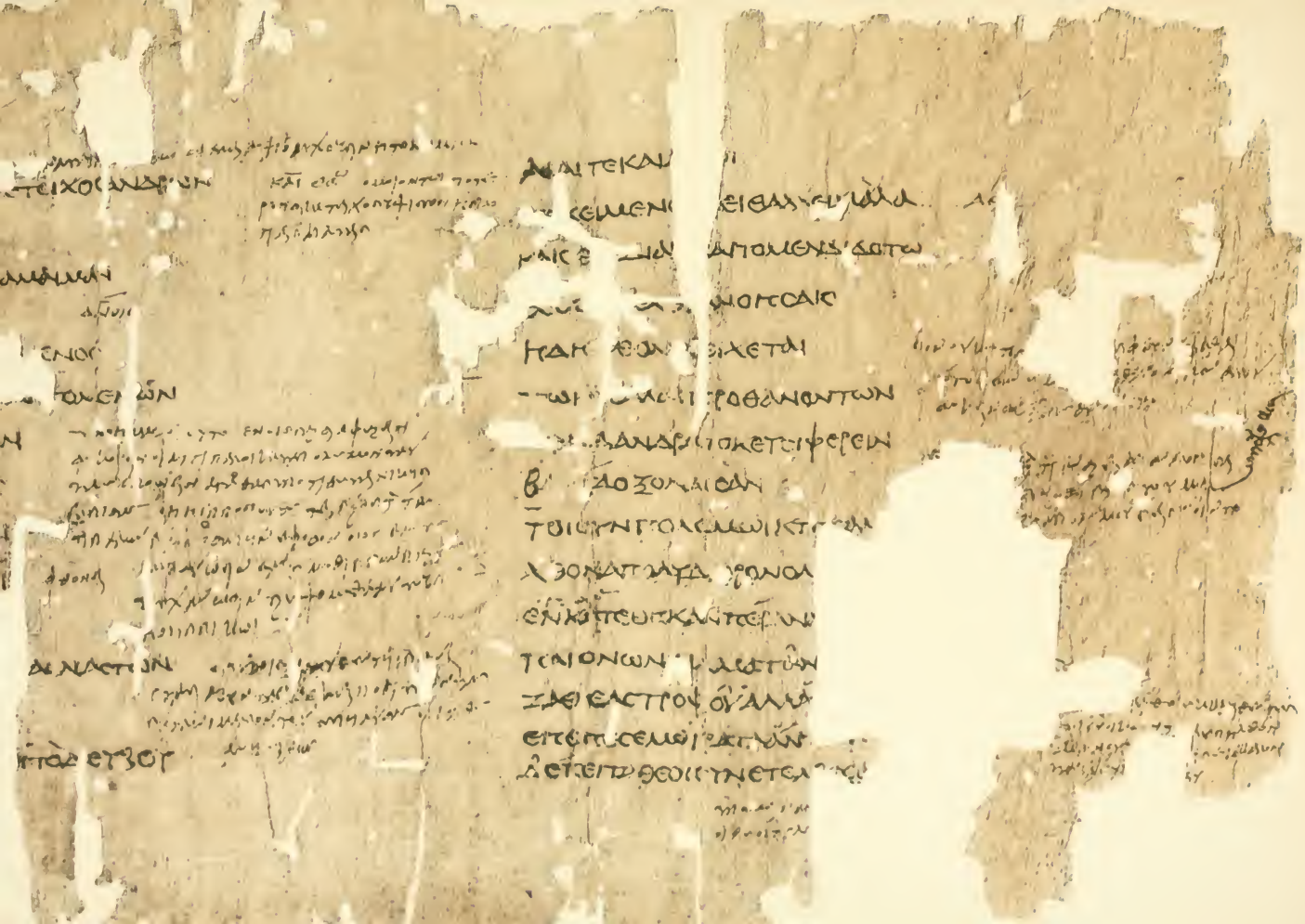

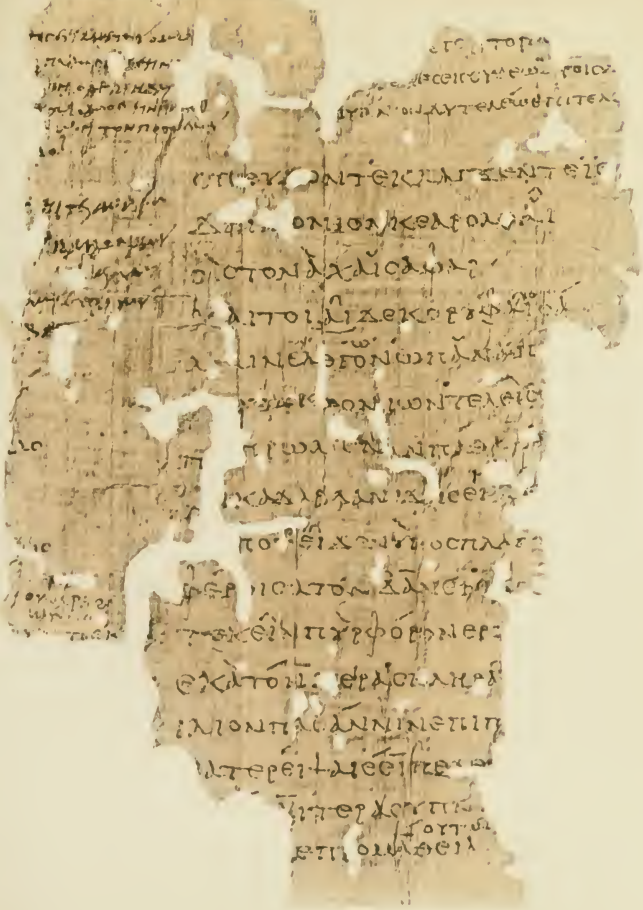

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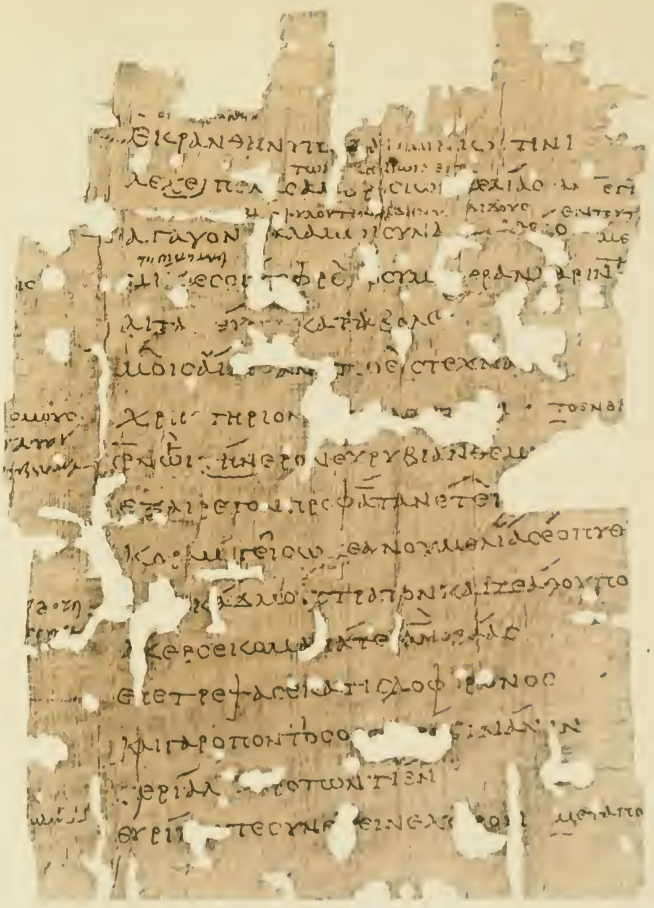

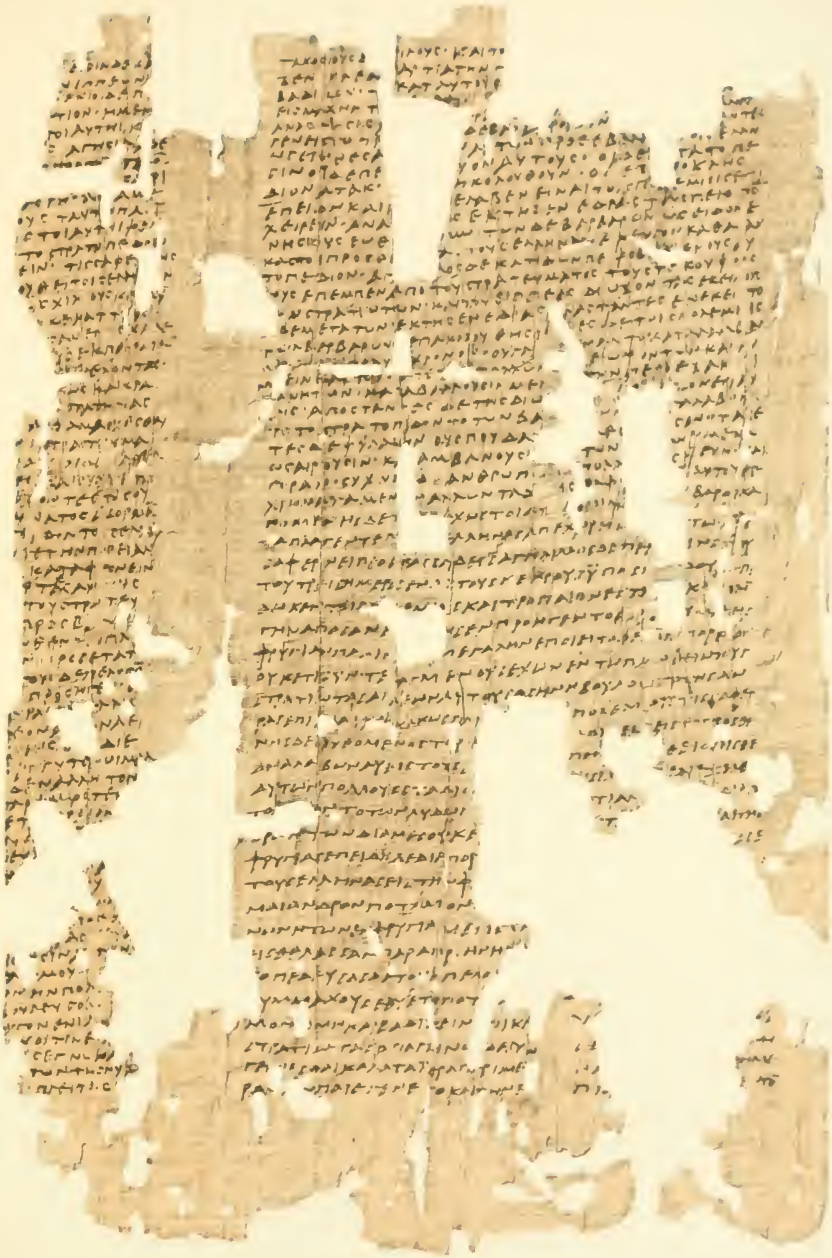

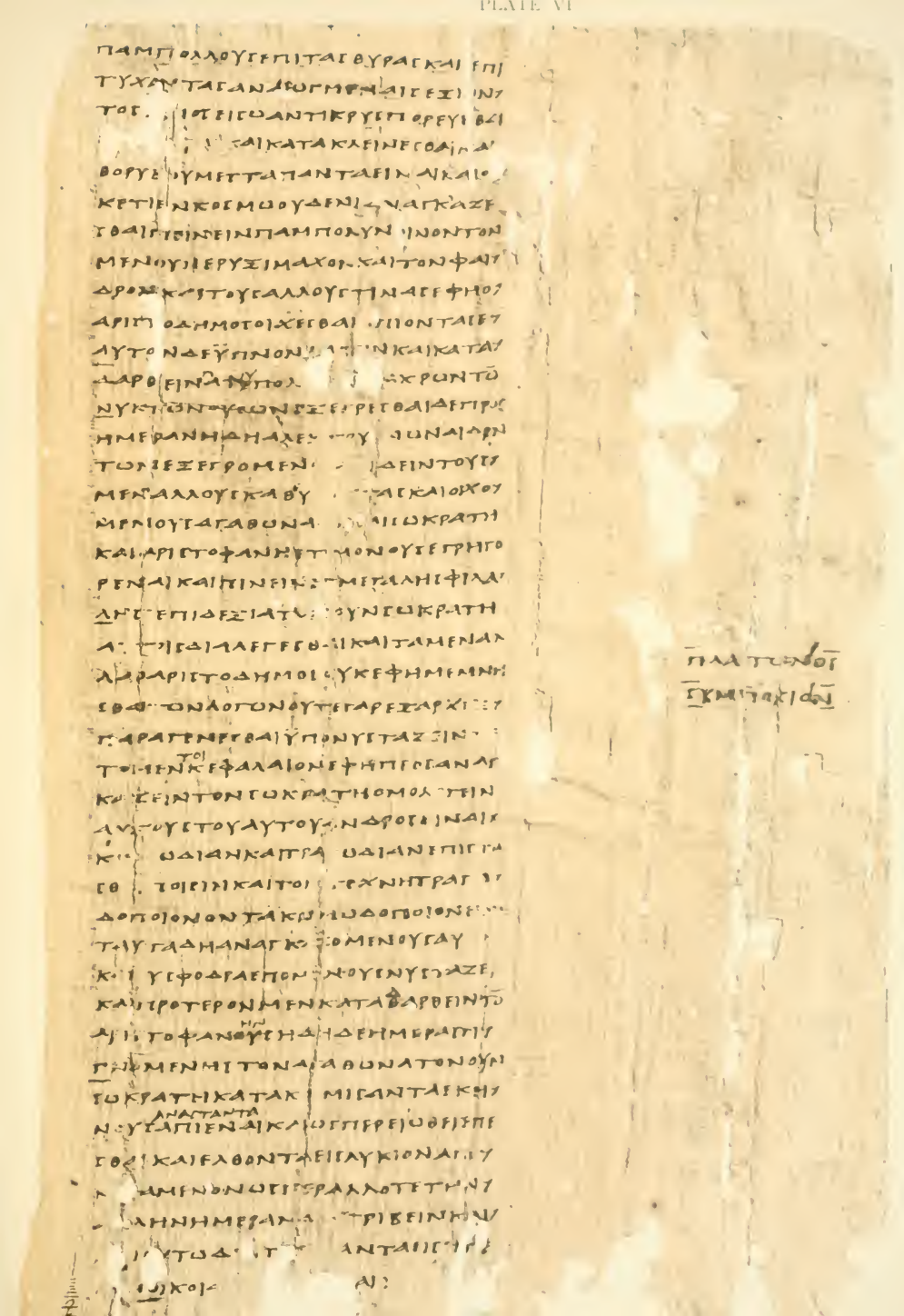

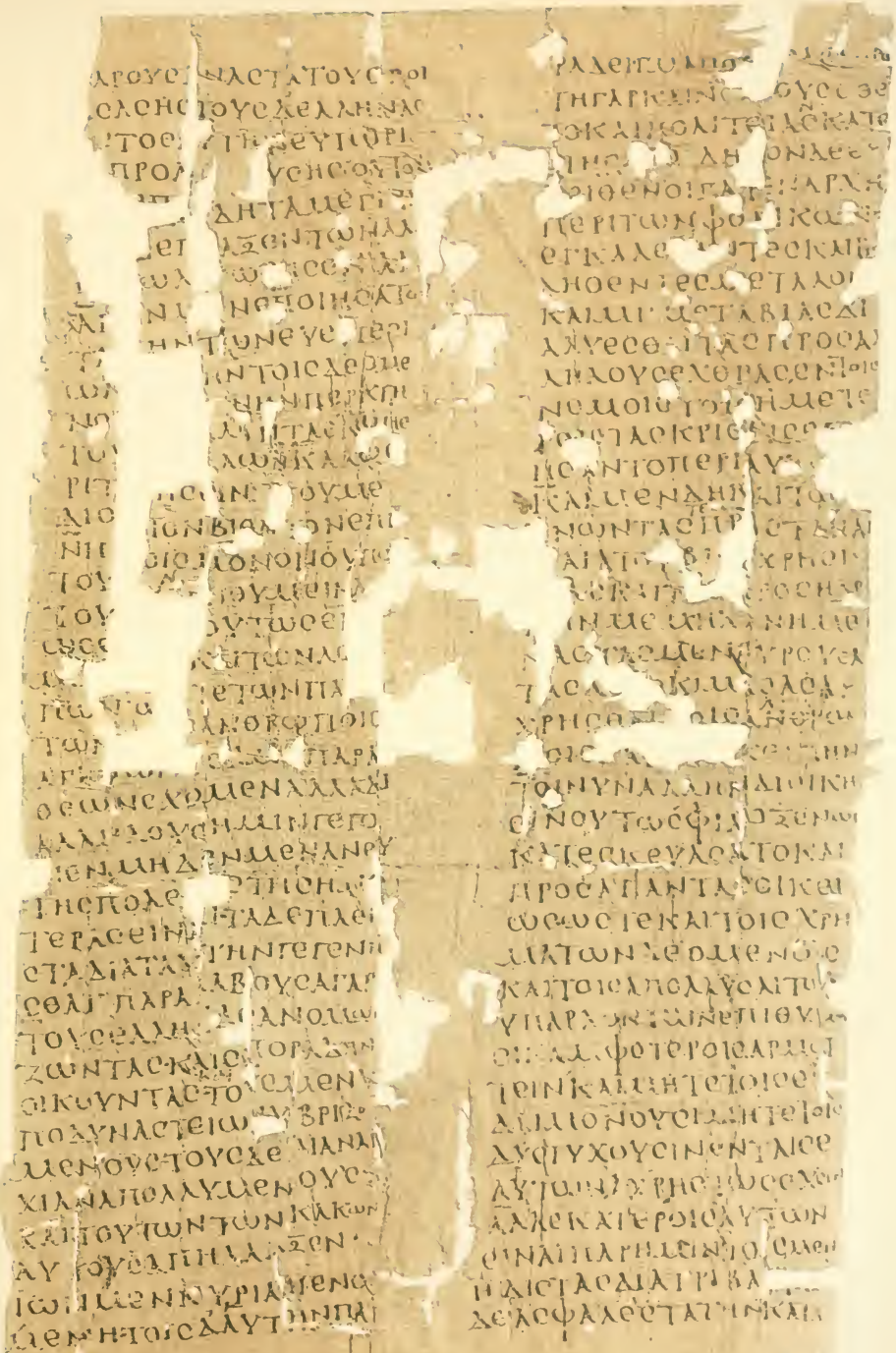

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